

# FORUM

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Winning Essay in the Canadian Forum Essay Contest

*J. S. Stephen*

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## THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## L S R

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# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## *Blitzkrieg, 1941*

THE LONG AWAITED German spring campaign is now in full swing. It has started in the Balkans and in North Africa with the same spectacular advances as marked its course in western Europe a year ago. We are probably in for some weeks or months of war news that will seem as black as May and June, 1940. But Britain is still uninvaded and the British navy is still intact. Whatever criticisms may be made of the policies pursued by the Churchill-Labor government—and we have made a good many ourselves and shall doubtless make more—nothing shows so well the enormous change which it has produced as the comparative absence of hysterical gloom here in North America in the spring of 1941 as we read our papers and listen to the radio. Under their leadership the British people have shown a capacity to rise to the crisis which many observers thought that they had lost since the last war. The magnificent spirit in which the city dwellers are facing the hail of bombs from the air is beyond all praise. Somehow or other bad news from other parts of Europe doesn't impress us as it did in 1940, and we all take it for granted that they will come through 1941 still undefeated, and that in 1942 supplies from America will at last turn the tide.

## *Battle of the Mediterranean*

THE BRITISH DECISION to send troops to Greece was political, not military," said the New York *Times* correspondent in London when the first reports of German successes in the Balkans began to come in. At the moment of writing we do not know how far those German successes are likely to go. But the Jugo-Slav army is broken up and the Germans are still pressing southward in Greece. It is evident that Anthony Eden's diplomacy failed to achieve a united front in the

eastern Mediterranean. And probably it failed because of the obvious shortage of British men and equipment on the spot as compared with the German forces. At the worst we have to expect a complete British withdrawal from the Balkans, their only remaining foothold on the European continent except Gibraltar. At the best, the Germans will have been compelled to use up forces which could have won more decisive victories elsewhere.

The struggle in North Africa has more serious potentialities than that in Greece. The German drive through Libya seems to have spent itself at the Egyptian frontier, but this may be only a momentary pause. If it is only a pause Alexandria and Suez are in danger, and this means a threat to the whole position of the British in the Near East. A bad defeat here would have repercussions in Irak and all over the Moslem world, while it would certainly lose the British their present control of the Mediterranean. For the next point of German attack would be in French Morocco at the western end of the Mediterranean, and here General Weygand would be unable, even if he wished, to offer long resistance. The British are, at any rate, exposed to constant air attacks on their lines of communication in the Mediterranean area. A bad defeat in North Africa means that the engagements there can no longer be regarded as a side-show. It may be in this sphere of operations that Hitler's main attack for 1941 is planned. But British reinforcements from Ethiopia and East Africa may turn the tide in the desert warfare, and the British fleet is still a terror to Italian cruisers and to German convoys.

## *Ottawa*

BAD WAR NEWS from Europe will doubtless enlarge the chorus of god-sakers in Ottawa. For God's sake why don't we form a "national"

government, or adopt conscription, or do something? The air, in fact, is full of rumors about conscription, though we have learned of no new argument purporting to show that such a step will strengthen the unity of the national war effort. One thing that is not strengthening that unity is the concentration of war orders in Ontario, and to a slightly less degree in Quebec, with the resulting increase in the already great differences between living standards in various parts of the country. Since a fully flowing stream of international trade has been announced as one of the aspirations of the British and American governments, and since Mr. King has always been insistent that freer international trade is one of the chief elements in the external policy of his government, why should not Canada help British producers and Canadian consumers alike by admitting British goods free? Rumors are printed in the papers of a projected conference of commonwealth prime ministers in London. If Mr. King goes over, we hope he takes someone from the finance department to investigate the new British war budget with its scheme of compulsory savings as advocated by J. M. Keynes ever since the war started. Canada, like Britain, now hovers on the edge of a dangerous inflation, and our finance department has been loud in its verbal assertions that inflation will not be allowed to start here.

### *The Ontario C.C.F. Convention*

THE C.C.F. in Ontario is still a comparatively small party without representation in the legislature; it has so far failed to mobilize effectively the large potential support that is surely available even in this conservative province. The provincial convention of April 11-12, however, seemed to show a new resolution to rise to the situation and a new sense of responsibility. In this the Ontario C.C.F. no doubt shared the renewed hope that has come to social-democrats everywhere since the Labor party so effectively joined the government in Britain and showed that, even in time of war and in the face of a threatened invasion, social services need not be curtailed, can indeed be improved, and that the producer can have a voice in the direction of the economy.

We were favorably impressed by the efficient manner in which the convention was run—a distinct sign of maturity was the absence of 'constitutionitis,' a disease which affects very young movements and makes them waste endless time on abstruse constitutional points for their own sake.

The one considerable organizational change which allows for individual as well as club membership evidently commended itself to all present.

In Ontario, as elsewhere, the C.C.F. has now recovered from the hesitations and confusion which inevitably come upon a socialist party on declaration of war. The policy resolutions showed a clear determination to do what is necessary to win the war, and a determination equally clear to preserve and extend democracy economic as well as political, at home. We would, however, venture one criticism: a provincial party should spend a greater portion of its time in convention upon specific provincial problems.

We hope that the feeling of the delegates that they were on the threshold of a considerable growth of the C.C.F. in Ontario will justify itself, and we wish them luck.

### *Neville Stalin*

COMMENTATORS SEEM unanimously agreed in confessing that they don't know just what the Soviet-Japanese agreement means. (We haven't yet read the expositions of the C.P. or fellow-traveller press.) On the face of it, one would judge that Stalin is giving the green light to Japan in the Pacific just as he did in the summer of 1939 to Germany in Europe. Maybe he is only taking out insurance against an attack on his Asiatic front while his main worries are as to German moves in the Balkans and the Ukraine. Maybe he is the profound Machiavellian who is getting all the rest of the world into the turmoil of war while the U.S.S.R. stays at peace. But our guess is that he is as badly informed about the real forces moving in the outer world as his admirers in that outer world have been about his own movements during the past few years. And we may as well go right out on a limb and predict that he will be known in history as the Chamberlain of the U.S.S.R. Like the hero of Munich he has confused the interests of his own class (the Soviet bureaucracy) with that of the community for which he is responsible, he is acutely aware of his own military weakness, he is trying to appease his nearest enemies by turning them against more remote ones, and in the end when his appeasement policy fails he will intervene, after losing any number of splendid opportunities, at the worst possible moment for himself and his state. Anyway, just file this item away among your collection of interpretations of the U.S.S.R.

# War Aims

SOME MONTHS AGO Mr. Churchill ended one of his speeches to America with the appeal: "Give us the tools and we will finish the job." But his government is still refusing to throw any light on the question of what tools beyond military tools will be needed or of what the nature of the job is beyond the winning of a military victory. In his latest speech, to the Conservative party central committee on March 27, he told his fellow tories that in his correspondence with President Roosevelt the topic of war aims has never been mentioned. He also deprecated such discussions as undermining national unity, and he was quite nasty about those people who talk of a new social order. "I know it is provoking when speeches are made which seem to suggest that the whole structure of our decent British life and society, which we built up so slowly and patiently across the centuries, will be swept away for some new order or other, details of which are largely unannounced. The spirit sometimes tempts me to rejoin." But Mr. Churchill doesn't need to rejoin. He has an efficient tory machine controlling two-thirds of the House of Commons.

In recent weeks we have received a little more light on the subject of war aims from two semi-official pronouncements. By a curious coincidence Lord Halifax speaking in New York and Mr. Wendell Willkie speaking in Toronto at almost the same time said almost the same thing about war aims. They stressed the need for a post-war international regime in which the currents of trade would be allowed to flow freely again. The spectacle of a British Tory and an American Republican announcing that the war is being fought to restore Cobdenism to the world is, we confess, just a little too much for us—considering the record of the Tory and the Republican parties on trade and tariff questions during the 1920's and 1930's. It is true that an enlightened American industry would be strongly Cobdenite after this war because the United States will then have the best industrial equipment in the world, will be able to undersell all rivals, and will need a world market to keep her equipment working. But we rather think that it will take more than a second world war to make American industrialists enlightened; and, even if this miracle does occur, we await with interest the response of English and Canadian industrialists to American proposals of lower tariffs.

It is noteworthy that neither Lord Halifax nor Mr. Willkie said anything about post-war political organization, and especially that they didn't

breathe a hint about a League of Nations. As far as we know, British government spokesmen, including the Labor cabinet ministers, have not recently given the slightest inkling that they are aware that an international organization called the League of Nations ever existed. In Canada a good many of our best people—the same people who were much intrigued by schemes of imperial federation in the early days of the last war—are taking up the cause of federal union. But this, like the League of Nations, is chiefly an expedient to give tender-minded people a Utopia to keep them happy in our rough tough world. Most of the Canadians who attach themselves to Union Now proposals do so because they think of the scheme as a method of getting the United States to back up British policy all over the world. If it ever dawned on them that a federal union of which the U.S.A. is a partner will be necessarily a union run from Washington, they would drop the idea at once.

Neither the political nor the economic side of international organization, however, is really interesting people just now. The real question is whether the post-war United States and Britain are going to be dominated by the forces of the left or the forces of the right. Persons like Mr. Churchill who refuse to speak of anything but "national unity" really mean by that phrase national unity under present leadership, i.e., with the existing governing classes continuing to manage affairs. When Mr. Churchill expresses his hope that this unity will continue after the war so that the country "like one great family may get into its stride again," he really means that he hopes Labor won't upset things by challenging the existing leadership. If anyone is naive enough to think that the kind of social reconstruction which Professor Laski and his friends have been preaching is meeting with general acceptance in Britain he should read the blast against Laski in the current *Nineteenth Century*, a philippic which, incidentally, is recommended to his readers by the editor of the *Spectator*. And the same wide differences about the future social organization of the community which exist in Britain are, as everyone knows, even more passionately felt and expressed in the United States.

It should be acknowledged that the *London Times* has been writing some most remarkable editorials about post-war reconstruction. But newspapers are not committed by what they say in war time any more than by what they say in election campaigns. The lead given by Archbishop Temple in the Malvern conference has attracted widespread attention. But even though the Church of England is not any longer so completely "the tory party at prayer" as it used to be, it is too much dominated

by vested interests for the Temple group to get very far, if indeed it sincerely means to go very far. The deciding factor which will determine whether Britain moves much to the left during and after this war is the vitality and dynamic energy of the Labor movement. And the most sympathetic observers can hardly help wondering sometimes whether the Labor party has the drive that will make it a more serious threat to the established order than it was in the 1920's and 1930's.

The New York *Times* of March 23 had an article by Geoffrey Crowther, editor of the *Economist* in London, in which he tried to answer the question, Is Britain turning socialist? His judgment on British Labor is not very flattering but we suspect that it is very shrewd. "British trade unions occupy approximately the same place in politics today as the Church of England occupied in the last century. The doctrines to which they formally adhere would be as revolutionary if put into practice as those of Christianity. But the presence of trade union leaders in the cabinet is no more a portent of revolution than the fact that bishops of the established church sit in the House of Lords . . . The Labor party is not at present a very lively or vigorous organism. Its trade union elements have almost reached the terminus of their ambitions, while its so-called 'socialist intelligentsia' is still dazed by the collapse of its Marxist religion. These disabilities could be surmounted if the Labor party contained a large number of competent hard-headed, shrewd, realistic politicians. But it does not. Nothing has been more noticeable in Winston Churchill's government than the personal mediocrity of the Labor leaders. Some of them have been downright failures and the best of them haven't risen above the level of average competence. It is not among Labor leaders that men of elastic mind and fighting temperament have shown themselves."

Mr. Crowther is perhaps not fair to individuals. He does not make sufficient allowance for the difficulties of a party in a coalition government in which it has only a small minority of seats. He thinks, nevertheless, that the prestige of the old school tie is gone. The Englishman has been disillusioned about government by gentlemen. He has realized that "though he may have been ruled by gentlemen these twenty-five years, they were blind gentlemen, stupid gentlemen, timid gentlemen, weak gentlemen." But he looks for the new leadership not in Labor ranks—Labor "has not shown itself capable of spawning new ideas for a new world"—but among "those young men of technical and professional competence who are staffing the new ministries and learning about public affairs at first hand." And this, significantly enough, is

exactly where the new leadership of the United States has been coming from during the regime of the New Deal.

In the long run the direction in which Britain may move socially is going to depend more and more on the direction in which the United States moves. By the end of the war Britain will have become so dependent on American help that her whole social and economic set-up will be profoundly affected by American influences. When we realize this we come to see how vitally important is the quality of the leadership which the Roosevelt government will give during the next four years.

The most heartening thing that has happened recently was the sending of Mr. Winant as American ambassador to Britain, with Ben Cohen as his economic adviser. It cannot have been meant as anything but a sign that the New Dealers in Washington want to hold up the hands of Labor leaders in London. But whether the Washington government will continue to move in New Deal directions is a question which has yet to be settled in Washington itself. The insurgency of organized labor all over the States is a hopeful phenomenon. If labor refuses to allow big business to run industry as it sees fit, big business will not be able to capture the Washington government. The weakness of President Roosevelt is that he is obviously in danger of suffering from messianic complexes about world leadership which will undermine the admirable clear-headedness with which he has hitherto always kept open the road to the left. We may yet see the day when we will all be calling him Woodrow Roosevelt. But he is a much tougher man than Wilson was, and a much more astute politician. The way in which he has balanced Hillman against Knudsen shows that, as does his persistence in compelling the British government to give some *quid pro quo* with each step that he takes for further British aid.

The chief hope for a genuinely democratic post-war world lies in the continued toughness of President Roosevelt. Recent years have shown that there are far more "men of elastic mind and fighting temperament" in the ranks of American labor than of English labor; and we suspect that the same remark could be made about the civil services of the two countries. If the president, under the strain of war, continues to give the kind of leadership that he gave during his first two terms of office, all these men will rally round him, and that will leave no doubt about the direction in which the world is going.

# Canadian Broadcasting

THE POINTS RAISED in Mr. V. R. Hill's three recent articles in the *Canadian Forum* merit further discussion and elaboration. Mr. Hill showed that there is an apparent absence, throughout the whole organization, of the unified direction, coöordinated effort, clear-cut departmentalization, orderly staffing and good morale, which are the elementary characteristics of a well-run enterprise. Moreover the sense of frustration and discouragement in the more enterprising members of the staff, the illiberal and repressive attitude of the management, and the suspicion of "unsound practices" and "irregularities," all are evidence of a condition which can only be remedied by a thorough investigation.

Responsibility for this condition rests with the general manager, the board of governors and the minister of transport. It is a remarkable fact that, for reasons which can scarcely bode well for the public system of broadcasting, the general manager, certain key members of the board, the Hon. C. D. Howe, and representatives of the private broadcasters are all actively agreed on one principle: that a parliamentary investigation should be resisted.

Parliament, when it established the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1936, had three principal intentions with regard to it: to ensure the necessary conditions of flexibility and business-like management it should be set up as an autonomous corporation: to ensure an independent, non-partisan attitude, it should be responsible to parliament and not to the government, any minister, or any civil service department: a coast-to-coast system of publicly-owned stations should be developed and all but purely local broadcasting "nationalized." Thus the corporation was endowed with the control and coöordination of all broadcasting stations in Canada so that this last mentioned ideal could be progressively realized. It was hoped that Canada could thus be equipped with the most potent possible instrument of national unity.

But clearly it is moving in the reverse direction. Who is responsible? Primarily, the board of governors, a board at present dominated by men whose enthusiasm for public ownership in general and for this project in particular, may, perhaps, be judged by the fact that the chairman is the head of a St. James St. trust, and the vice-chairman (really the dominant influence) is the key figure in Canada's moving picture industry, an industry with which, of course, a successful CBC would very directly compete. It is suggested, furthermore, that the Hon. C. D. Howe, who, for reasons

yet to be explained, retained control of the radio sections of the department of transport when he became minister of munitions and supply, interferes so frequently in the decisions of the board as virtually to paralyze independent judgment.

Apparently with the purpose of forestalling the demand for an investigation, the board issued on Nov. 26 last, a resolution declaring "their full and complete confidence in the general manager, Mr. Gladstone Murray." But on April 4 it was announced at Ottawa that an executive committee of the board was to be established to make possible "greater executive control" and that the assistant general manager, Augustin Frigon, would move to Ottawa from Montreal. This apparently harmless piece of information really means that the board do not feel confidence in the general manager, but, rather than face the issue of replacing him, are attempting so to restrict his functions as to protect themselves from the worst consequences of his folly. It is reliably reported that he has been deprived of the direction of most of the main departments into which the corporation is divided and that in future the assistant general manager will be responsible to the newly formed executive committee for them. If this be accurate, the net effect of the changes is to make the assistant general manager more like a chief executive and the general manager more like an assistant general manager.

Such divided control will, of course, in the long run, be disastrous. Divided management was the bête noir of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission. The Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1936, and the by-laws thereunder, make it clear that unified management was to be a feature of the new set-up. Section 5 of the act reads "there shall be a general manager who shall be chief executive of the corporation . . ." and section 7 (1) of the by-laws says ". . . subject to the direction of the board of governors, he shall be responsible for the carrying out of the provisions of the Canadian Broadcasting Act, 1936, and the regulations and by-laws made thereunder."

On December 6, last, there was tabled in the House of Commons a lengthy and comprehensive report on *The Structural Organization and Financial Administration of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*. This report contains the most definite and detailed warnings against the dangers of divided managerial authority, the effects of which were already becoming apparent to anyone familiar with sound business organization. Nevertheless, rather than one effective chief executive, we are to have two chief executives, accentuating the existing confusion throughout the organization as to who, actually, is to be in final command. The cycle is completed: we are back to the type of

control which hamstrung the old radio commission.

In *The Canadian Forum* for April, V. R. Hill referred to certain questions relating to the allocation of high-powered wavelengths under the Havana agreement which Mr. Coldwell put to the Hon. C. D. Howe on March 19. Mr. Coldwell asked whether the basic policy of earmarking high power channels for the national plan and restricting private stations to a local function, with all applications for increases above 1000 watts invariably rejected, was being abandoned. And if this policy was not being abandoned had the private stations receiving higher power channels been clearly so advised? For there was reason to fear that before long this policy would be abandoned, with the corollary that private stations would then regain the hegemony of Canadian radio.

Was this fear justified? On March 24, three days after Mr. Howe made his guarded and evasive reply, representatives of the leading private broadcasting interests appeared before the board of governors to demand the right to increase their power to the limits allowed under the Havana Agreement. No doubt this premature appearance embarrassed the general manager and the board, but those who sponsored it are far from discouraged. They believe that sooner rather than later present restrictions will be quietly dropped and that those few stations already fortunate enough to be awarded the precious higher powered channels will be permitted to invade the high powered or "area" broadcasting which up to now has been marked as the special sphere of the national system. The goal of certain private operators is, in fact, super-power and a private national network in which they would be the key-stations. The sympathy with which their claims has been met by the board of governors explains, no doubt, their amazing recent change of attitude toward the corporation and the lobby they have conducted to obviate an investigation. And when they are permitted either high power or a private net-work Canada can say goodbye to this experiment in public ownership.

With reference to Mr. Hill's analysis of the political broadcasting situation, his statements were confirmed in a reply to a series of questions by Gordon Graydon, M.P. for Peel, which Mr. Howe brought down on March 31. The ban on the purchase of network time by opposition parties between elections had been made on January 22, 1940, but, according to Mr. Howe's reply "political parties were informed of this change at meetings held in Ottawa during the month of January, 1940, and in Toronto, February, 1940, at which were present representatives of the Liberal, Conservative, C.C.F. and Social Credit parties . . ." This

last statement seems to be entirely without warrant. There is no record of the parties being given public notification of any kind or of having been informed in any way of this particular change. Mr. Graydon also asked for copies of rulings, orders, regulations or statements of policy made by the board or general manager since Jan. 1, 1939. The return on April 7 referred to the above mentioned restriction but stated that the board had decided on April 4 to make available, if requested, "a reasonable amount of free time to enable the premier and the leader of the opposition in any province of Canada, or their accredited representatives, to discuss provincial issues."

This hasty 11th hour gesture of appeasement, apparently obtained by telegraphic reference as the board did not meet on April 4, was made to forestall a growing hostility to an iniquitous ruling, but the ruling itself still stands.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is alone in a position to plan schedules of entertainment, talks, news, commentary, propaganda which can help to keep the people of Canada enthusiastically united. Private stations by their very nature cannot serve such a purpose in any planned sense. It is consequently imperative that the CBC be efficient, that it attract a national audience, that it possess the public confidence, that it maintain and exclusively develop the field of high power broadcasting, that it allow no private network to challenge its supremacy, in short that it reflect in its principles, its policies and in its organization of programs and personnel the broad democratic ideals which this country is now militantly defending. If, however, as is claimed on more than circumstantial evidence, the CBC has disintegrated to such an extent that it can meet none of these demands upon its organization a public inquiry into its management and policies is not only a matter of good government, but in the immediate interests of all those concerned with national security.



THE CANADIAN FORUM

# What Labor Needs

*G. M. A. Grube*

**T**HE WAVE OF STRIKES which broke out in the United States in April contains for us both a warning and a lesson. Let us hope that we shall heed them in time. The warning is that those big corporations which have in the past been ruthless enemies of labor organization do not change their spots overnight, nor even after eight years of New Deal legislation. The soft coal operators, Bethlehem Steel and Henry Ford, where the three big disputes arose, notoriously belong to that class. Indeed, the main issue at Detroit seems to be whether Ford is powerful enough to defy federal law even in the midst of a war emergency. The lesson we should draw from the situation is that even a powerful federal government headed by Franklin Roosevelt needs the help of the most clear and definite legislation if it is to enforce even a quite relative measure of social justice.

We have no Roosevelt in Canada. Further, our legislation, as I pointed out at length in the March issue of the *Forum*, is timid and ineffective. The much debated orders-in-council are generous expressions of pious wishes. The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which is now extended to all war industries, is a peace-time measure; its leisurely procedure is quite unsuited to the hectic tempo of war production. It does settle some disputes, and it is unfortunate that cases of successful mediation get very little publicity; that good employers remain comparatively unheralded, while the bad boys make the headlines, and get strangely transformed into sturdy patriots on the way, while correspondingly their workers get transfigured into devilish agitators.

It is a pity that our Minister of Labor's approach seems to be through the management in the first instance and almost exclusively. When things are not going well he apparently finds it "enough trouble" to approach the management (Hansard Feb. 28, p. 1246 and March 13, p. 1645). Even where he agrees on the floor of the House of Commons that abuses are being committed, he does not dream of disciplining those employers as they deserve, but confines himself to a mild rebuke. For example, Mr. McLarty agreed with Angus MacInnis, M.P., that the applications for employment forms mentioned in these columns last month—readers will remember that they included a number of outrageous personal questions, and in particular whether a man was, or ever had been, a member of a union—were "a harsh and conscienceless docu-

ment," but all he did was to write a letter and hope the employers would mend their ways. Such a rebuke is quite obviously not enough. Similar forms have to be filled in on application for work in a number of firms across the country. The government should make it clear that this must not happen; it has plenty of power, as the chief source of contracts, not to mention the War Measures Act, to enforce the prohibition.

Furthermore, the attitude of some of the government's representatives is not only passively, but actively objectionable. On April 3 (Hansard 2356), Mr. McLarty agreed, when challenged by Angus MacInnis, that Mr. H. B. Chase, director-general of labor relations in the department of munitions and supply, behaved in a highly improper manner when appearing before a conciliation board at Ile de Salaberry, Quebec; and his conduct at Hamilton, in the National Steel Car case, is alleged to have been little better. According to the evidence before the conciliation board in Hamilton, employers' evidence, equally improper dickering was going on between the employers and the representative of the department of labor. But Mr. Chase is still director of labor relations, and the minister has apparently not impressed upon his representatives that even the appearance of impartiality must be preserved. That is dangerous. Any imaginative person can see that at all costs the government men should not only appear but be impartial, as is their function, and that this is absolutely essential if the worker is to have any confidence at all in the government or its legislation. It is here that the great difference between the British way and ours lies; there at least the importance of labor as a partner in the war effort is recognized, and they are not treated as a dangerous nuisance to be put off with promises and as little real action as possible.

Discrimination continues all over the place. Even during disputes, men are laid off who happen (?) to be members of the organizing committees, and the courts apparently are satisfied to take the employers' word for it that the dismissals have nothing to do with the dispute that is going on at the time. This too was in Hamilton, where the National Steel Car Corporation dispute, at present awaiting the conciliation board report, is of vital importance. The minister himself has made recommendations which employers ignore as blandly as they ignore the orders in council that

should have made collective bargaining and freedom to organize part of the law of the land.

The fact that, so far, there have been no major strikes in Canada is something to be deeply thankful for, but it is due far more to the restraint and patriotism of the workers than to either the government or the employers. Let us not deduce from this absence of strikes, as the minister of labor apparently does, that there is little or no industrial unrest (Hansard, March 12, p. 1601). The deduction may be comforting, but if false it may be very dangerous. Let us rather resolve, in view of the situation which is known to exist, to do all in our power to establish effective machinery to correct abuses and to secure a measure of justice and liberty for the workers *before* the strikes occur, for strikes in war time are bitter, and the workers certainly do not, the vast majority of them, desire to use that ultimate weapon. Nor do their leaders.

What is needed? Not the use of arbitrary powers by the minister to enforce arbitration awards indiscriminately, for unless it is unanimous, the report of a board of conciliation is merely a confession of failure to conciliate. A conciliation board is composed, under the I.D.I.A., of three men: a representative of the management, a representative of the union, and a chairman usually appointed by the government. Strikes should not be made illegal by the government, because the strike is the workers' only real weapon, and arbitration does not consist in disarming one side and leaving the other armed to the teeth. That is precisely what the outlawing of strikes would mean, at least until the workers themselves have a full share of the control of the economic machinery, such as they largely have in Britain. Besides, the mere outlawing of strikes does not prevent them in the end; it merely makes them more bitter, more violent, and more appalling. What we need is to remove the causes of strikes.

We need positive, not negative measures. We need, first, to make the principle of collective bargaining, to which the government is committed, mandatory, so that any employer who refuses to negotiate with whatever union represents the majority of his workers shall be punished by fine, jail or both—he is, in fact, breaking the law and should be treated accordingly. *Union recognition should not be a matter of arbitration at all*, merely a matter of fact, to be established by ballot if necessary.

The minister of labor himself has said that "one of the difficulties which the department of labor has constantly to meet is the fact that some employers do not coöperate to the extent they should with their own working people." If such coöperation is essential to the war effort, as

according to the government's own pronouncements, it is, then the principles to guide it should not only be set out in theory, but incorporated into all war contracts, and definite penalties imposed for their transgression.

There should be a clarification of order in council 7440. It is quite clear that the section which says that the highest wage rate in 1926-9, or any higher rate since, should be taken as a basis, is understood differently by unions and companies, and much play is made of the expression "nationally or locally." The employers contend that "nationally" only applies to national services such as railways, the unions claim it means that the basis is the national standard of wages in any one industry across the country, so that depressed wage areas must be levelled up. And the workers' interpretation certainly seems the one intended. It can hardly be doubted that the labor representatives on the labor supply council who gave the order in council their qualified approval so understood it.

Then, the procedure under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act must be speeded up. At present, the workers must hold a strike vote, and vote to strike, before the fact of an industrial dispute can be established and a conciliation board applied for—that is, *the men must vote to strike even if they don't intend to strike but merely to apply for a conciliation board!!* That is unnecessary at any time, and ridiculous in time of war. A simple request by the union should be sufficient. The present opportunities for the employers to delay the procedure must be cut down. If they maintain that the union does not represent their men, a ballot should be held immediately, under government supervision. The time limit for the board to report should be short—at present there is none, and if the report comes under review, the delay can be indefinite. So, in the Peck Rolling Mills in Montreal, the men waited three months for what is only a majority report.

Our employers should be made to understand once and for all that a company union is no union in any real sense, that it does not fulfill the conditions laid down by the government, as not being "free from any control by employers or their agents." They cannot be free from such control in the nature of things, and the present practice of employers who say that they have never interfered with union organization, and yet refuse to deal with a real union, is either hypocritical or just silly. In any case it should be stopped. The acme of naivety was reached in this connection when the Peck Rolling Mills management, before the board of conciliation, actually challenged the union's claim on the basis of a questionnaire of their own, which they had sent out to their men individually, asking them whether they belonged to

the union and had given authority for the strike vote. The amazing thing was that about 48 per cent said that they did and had.

Cases of discrimination should be tried by a special court, a labor court set up for that purpose, and independent of the minister. On this labor unions should be represented. This type of case needs special experience which such a court could accumulate, and it should be given judicial powers. Ordinary magistrates' courts are not well qualified to deal with cases of discrimination, nor the average magistrate the proper person to deal with local labor disputes. Besides, speed is essential here also, and the delays of ordinary court procedure are enervating and unnecessary.

The federal government must also take the ultimate responsibility for working conditions, at least in the war industries. The health of the worker is an important factor in sustained production, and it is not very edifying to hear the minister of labor reply, when insanitary conditions are drawn to his attention, that "the inspection of sanitary conditions at a plant is a provincial responsibility." The federal government should work in coöperation with the provincial inspectors wherever possible, but it must act without that coöperation if necessary.

If some such measures as these were taken immediately, the danger of serious industrial unrest, and of dangerous strikes, would undoubtedly be averted. And some such measures would be taken if labor was in a position to publicize its difficulties and its needs, for the public would realize the essential fairness of its demands, in the large majority of cases. But labor, in common with all movements making for real democratic progress, suffers from a bad press. This is partly because its aspirations do not commend themselves to big business, and the press is a form of big business; and partly also because the standard of reporting in Canada is, with very few exceptions, remarkably low (which is in many cases not the fault of the reporters). Anybody who has ever attended a public meeting knows that even where there is no question of prejudice, our newspapers very rarely attempt to give a fair report of anything, and inevitably pick out the sensational in order to play on the fears and prejudices of the people. If our ministry of information made it its business to give all labor disputes impartial publicity or, as this is probably impossible, to give both sides of each dispute—and here the radio could so usefully play a most important part, if only it would—there would be far less chance of feelings becoming inflamed. The most dangerous of all states is that of the man who feels he is not given a fair show, at present a chronic state among

the workers in almost every dispute. The public itself has here an important part to play by demanding from its press, its radio and its government, that they shall give the facts in their true light.

## O CANADA!

### TROOPS TO BE TOLD WHY WE'RE AT WAR

(Headline in Montreal Gazette, Apr. 15, 1941)

"When the adults booed Wendell and myself during the campaign, Wendell would say: 'Thank God we are living in a country where they can do that!' but when children booed us, he was sad. He knew it was subversive influences working in the schools. We must see that we have teachers that are untainted with subversive viruses."

(Mrs. Willkie in Globe and Mail)

Mrs. Dimsdale, who came here to arrange the reception of young British war guests in Canada, said England was "nearly ruined by the old political party" and "the old men." She has three brothers in the House of Commons and three in the House of Lords.

(Ottawa Citizen, Feb. 28)

H. V. Sutton stated that there are many foreign-born in his county and many of these refuse to enlist because they do not believe in taking human life. "If they won't take a rifle for the defense of their country because it may mean the taking of a life, they shouldn't be allowed a gun to take any life, bird or animal, for fun or food," he stated.

(Globe and Mail, March 20, 1941)

Neither here nor in the United States can government or people contemplate an industrial war effort based upon the closed shop, or limited directly or indirectly by closed shop methods. If, as his majesty has said, we are all in the front line, there can be no longer any such thing as class privilege, and the elimination of class privilege must be general if it is to mean anything. So far as persons of large means are concerned it has been realized already, but it must not stop with that class or any other class.

(Montreal Gazette)

This month's prize of a six months' subscription goes to John G. Withall, Montreal, P.Q. All contributions should contain original clipping, the date and name of publication from which taken.



# The Seaway

R. F. Leggett

THE ST. LAWRENCE deep waterway project has now passed from the stage of being a matter for interested public discussion to that of forming the subject of an international agreement between Canada and the United States of America. This agreement will soon be submitted for the consideration and approval of elected representatives of the peoples of the countries concerned; special sessions of legislative bodies are already being publicly mentioned. The project has naturally been given much attention in the Canadian press. Inevitably this has been very largely governed by the local interests of the newspapers that serve the Canadian public, comments being sometimes conditioned by the views on the "seaway" entertained by the more powerful supporters of individual publications. The implications of the deep waterway development are so far-reaching that it is essential for interested Canadians to view the questions at issue clearly, and from a national rather than from a local viewpoint. This can be done only in the light of factual information; reliance upon newspaper information alone may possibly provide only a part of the necessary data upon which judgment must ultimately be based. It may be helpful, therefore, to mention some readily available sources of information so that those interested may know where to go for the facts they need and, if they are so minded, direct the attention of their elected representatives to references which will assist them in their onerous task of deciding upon the wisdom of implementing the international agreement at this time.

There may be some readers who are as yet unfamiliar with the main complications of what may, at first sight, appear to be a relatively straightforward undertaking. For their benefit the writer may perhaps be permitted to refer to an article which he contributed to *The Canadian Forum* about one year ago ("The St. Lawrence Waterway," March 1940 issue, pp. 381-383) in which he attempted to outline the main problems that have to be faced in evaluating the advisability of the project. In summary, the development of power in the international section of the St. Lawrence river must be associated with the provision of facilities for navigation past the necessary dams; the cost of the developed power will depend on the proportion of the total cost allocated to navigation. The latter will depend on the depth provided in channels and locks; 14 feet is provided

in the existing navigation works, but it is proposed to increase this to 27 feet in the new works, an increase that will necessitate entirely new locks and canal works at Beauharnois and Lachine respectively. The cost of this "deep waterway" will be very much larger than the cost of merely replacing the existing 14 foot facilities; is this extra cost justified? It was suggested that the answer to this question was not then known. A year has passed, and there has been no public evidence of any study of the matter that would yet provide the necessary answer. On the contrary, there has been introduced an added complication, for the project is now linked to the joint war effort of Canada and the United States and it is being advocated as a war measure.

It may be expected that the relation of the waterway proposal to the joint war effort will receive full consideration when the agreement is discussed by legislative bodies; no technical questions are involved apart from those about which there can be little discussion such as the length of time that will be required to construct the necessary works. Government publications, such as the recent White Paper and the reports of the joint committees of engineers, outline the nature of the works proposed, and give in some detail the total costs of these works. These publications (with the exception to be noted below) do not, however, give details of the unit costs of power nor do they discuss the economics of the proposed expenditures for navigation upon which the justification of the whole project depends. There are, in fact, very few publications which do deal with these crucial matters.

For those who wish to obtain a broad outline of the St. Lawrence river system, and the relation to it of the proposed development of the international section for power purposes, there may be recommended a paper presented to the Toronto meeting of the British Association for Advancement of Science, held in 1924, by R. S. Lea, a distinguished Canadian consulting engineer. Although many of the specific references to power development are now out-dated, the paper does give a good general picture of the great river in clear and non-technical language. It was published by the association, but also reprinted in *The Canadian Engineer* for August 19, 1924.

One of the first comprehensive studies of the economics of the scheme was carried out by another well-known Canadian consulting engineer, Lesslie

R. Thomson, who published his results in a masterly paper presented to the Engineering Institute of Canada in Hamilton on Feb. 14, 1929. The paper was printed in full in *The Engineering Journal* for April, 1929; its title, "The St. Lawrence Problem; some Canadian Economic Aspects." It occupies 112 closely printed pages and so is not the easiest of reading, but it is prefaced by a concise introduction and statement of conclusions that are still of great value. Mr. Thomson found that the seaway was economically justifiable as the result of his studies, but his findings were closely linked with the shipments of Canadian and American wheat by the St. Lawrence route. The wheat situation has changed so drastically in the last twelve years that Mr. Thomson's economic findings cannot possibly be considered as applicable, without reconsideration and probable revision, at the present time. The paper retains much of its value, even today; it demonstrates clearly the complications of the economic aspects of the development which have been so infrequently mentioned in recent discussions.

Another publication of the year 1929 was a volume issued by the Brookings Institution in Washington by Dr. H. G. Moulton, Mr. C. S. Morgan, and Miss A. L. Lee. Entitled "The St. Lawrence Navigation and Power Project," the book enjoyed a fairly wide distribution and is today available in many libraries. As with Mr. Thomson's paper, the years that have intervened since publication have seen such changes in the basic economy of Canada that the findings of this study cannot be applied to the present proposals for the deep waterway development; much useful information can be obtained from the book, however, and it too shows plainly that the questions involved are far from simple.

In 1935 there was published in Toronto a book which, in the opinion of the writer, is the most valuable of all the publications that have yet appeared on the St. Lawrence question. It was mentioned in the article of last March, but its relevant value is such that it can be mentioned again without apology. Entitled "The St. Lawrence Deep Waterway; A Canadian Appraisal," it embodies the results of over four years' study of the author, C. P. Wright, an economist trained at Oxford and Harvard Universities and one with a thorough understanding of the basic engineering questions involved in his economic studies. (Mr. Wright is at present engaged on special work in Great Britain and so Canadians are unfortunately deprived of the benefit of his further guidance at this time.) The volume suffers from being somewhat too long, and its length may have deterred many from giving it the attention it deserves. If

those interested, however, will merely glance through the book and read in detail the chapter entitled "The Problem of Appropriate Depth" they will find themselves assisted greatly in their understanding of all that is involved in the discussions that may shortly commence in the legislative buildings of Ottawa and Washington, Toronto and Quebec. Mr. Wright's conclusion is that "the depth most advantageous to Canadian interests is a matter that deserves very much more careful consideration than has yet been given to it" and gives reasons that fully support this conclusion. The statement was still true one year ago, and the writer has seen nothing in the intervening twelve months that would suggest that this problem has yet been given the careful study suggested by Mr. Wright as being so necessary.

Finally, there may be mentioned some publications of the United States department of commerce. In 1927, this department published a bulletin called "Great Lakes to Ocean Waterway" dealing with economic factors of the proposals then advanced for the development of the St. Lawrence. The findings expressed in this bulletin were severely criticized in the publication of the Brookings Institute, already mentioned; Mr. C. P. Wright, although more moderate in his comments, also criticized the conclusions of the bulletin very trenchantly. There was recently set up, in the U.S. department of commerce, an organization called the St. Lawrence Survey, headed by Dr. N. R. Daniellan. The Survey are publishing a new report in seven parts, three of which have already been issued. The seven parts will deal with the history of the St. Lawrence project; shipping services on the St. Lawrence; potential traffic on the river; the effect of the Seaway on existing harbors; the Seaway and future transportation requirements; the economic effects of the St. Lawrence power project; and finally a summary report of the survey. Of these parts, the first two and the sixth (on power economics) have been issued. It will be seen that the complete report of the survey will be an exhaustive treatment of the main aspects of the proposed development. The parts so far issued show that the information assembled is being succinctly presented, having been collected from a wide field of enquiry. In view of the generous way in which this department, as do other branches of the U.S. government, makes its publications available to interested Canadian citizens, and of the fact that only three sections of the complete report have as yet appeared, it would be invidious to discuss the first sections of the report in any detail. It is necessary, however, to sound at least a note of warning, for it is already clear that the complete report will not possess

that objectivity naturally anticipated in official government documents. It is frankly partisan in outlook as evidenced by this quotation from the first letter of transmittal of the director: "This brief survey of the history of the St. Lawrence project indicates that the overwhelming weight of opinion, based on evidence gathered in the course of 45 years, has been in favor of proceeding with the development of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project." As an American reviewer of this pamphlet has pointed out, apparently the director does not include the United States senate in his review of public opinion!

This list of sources of information is by no means exhaustive; it is believed, however, to include all the more important publications on the St. Lawrence project that are readily available. From the few quotations and notes that have been given, it will be clear that the question so soon to be decided by Canada and the United States with regard to their joint interests in the international sections of the St. Lawrence is no simple one. It is a question that requires study before it can be adequately discussed. It is a question in the decision upon which the democratic process can be well demonstrated and amply justified. Let it be hoped that the democratic process will be justified, fully, by the deliberations that will so soon take place with regard to the future development of what is one of the most wonderful sections of one of the great rivers of the world.

### *Eumaeus Neurotic*

In mid-afternoon the wind arose.

Then, I laughed to see the folly and stumbling terror of the swine that fled,

Then, the sound of its rushing was welcomed into my empty heart,

It swept refreshing into all dead, dust-kept corners And again swept out with a rush of heart-tearing and wind-leave-taking, crying of farewell, left my heart empty.

But still the wind was heard breathing loud and swelling in fitful-surgeing gust and fall of sound through the fir-trees.

... when night came still the wind hurried through its darkened ways burnishing dim stars with mist-threads swift-carried, driving wild vans of hosts and herds purple-streaming over the north hills, all through the arched fire-glow uprisen from the hills of the far north . . .

And the fir-trees heaved their sighs or hissed or whispered to my empty heart pointing with flustered gestures after the wind, that way, that way he went . . .

There is no escape from the wind.

Flee to your dwelling, close tight all close-folding shutters, flee to repose . . . with padded soft down, with frenzied palms exclude all hearing, shut out the wind . . .

There is no escape from the wind. Swift-flowing in hot veins its sound comes surging, whispering,

sighing as in the fir-trees.

Close all access the mad, sightless wind still enters searching the helpless heart and there is no escape . . .

Only this, into the night downing all fear yet trembling go . . .

Watch the fir-trees with flustered gestures point the wind passing, Watch the high burnished star that never sets hang steadfast, Watch the wind drive wild, purple-crested clouds war-bent across the flame-shot north sky, Over the chilled earth stride, soul-soaring arduous . . .

Bruise your strong feet on hard stones As you look starward.

ALAN G. BROWN

### *Longing*

I make jottings that the summer moon is high . . . that the pine wind sighs again under softened stars . . .

that sand, released from snow, is pliable again under the fingers, or patterned by footsteps, naked and joyous.

All these I note, but more, the longings of my heart, for they are seasonless, and without change.

CAROL COATES CASSIDY

THE CANADIAN FORUM

# Promoting A Newsprint "Crisis"

*Tobin Creeley*

WHEN JOHN BIRD, staff correspondent for the Southam newspaper chain, wrote from Washington recently that Canadians were in danger of stumbling over the "kegs of loose dynamite lying around," and then instanced newsprint as the prize current example, he pointed to a situation that has provoked many behind-closed-door conferences in Canadian newsprint, newspaper and political circles.

Centre of this explosion, which almost flared into an international blast, is the ultra-isolationist *Chicago Tribune* and *New York Daily News* and their newsprint mills in Canada. Spark to the combustible condition was the recent unthinking suggestion of several Canadian newspapers that these two big publications should be penalized for their editorial utterances by backhanded slaps at those mills. Breath to this spark, it is claimed, was the agitation of a handful of Canadian newsprint mills who seek to have *Tribune* and *News* mills included in the prorating plan now partially imposed by the newsprint industry on commercial, or selling, mills.

During the prosperous '20s Canada's capacity to produce newsprint rose by leaps and bounds, as did, according to financiers, the capitalization of most newsprint companies. With declining sales, troubles followed which resulted in the Ontario and Quebec governments instructing the companies to propound a remedy for their own plight with the objective of correcting the destitute conditions in mill towns. The remedy suggested by the mills was prorating: the allocation of a share of Canada's annual newsprint manufacture to each mill in the same proportion as the mill's capacity to the industry's total capacity.

When this plan was placed before the two governments, representations were made by non-commercial (or non-selling) mills, submitting that they should not be penalized by reduction of their production to cure an over-capitalized, over-built industry. Their claim that they contributed nothing to the newsprint plight, because they did not sell paper in competition with commercial mills, was held to be sound. Prorating was not extended to such mills, of which the *Tribune* and *News* mills were the biggest. Premiers Hepburn of Ontario and Duplessis of Quebec voiced this opinion jointly. And President Charles Vining of the Newsprint Association concurred.

Prorating did not become a law. It was estab-

lished as a principle, with the tacit understanding that enforcement could be enacted through provincial government control of leases, stumpage dues, etc. By 1938 it was in operation. Evidence that it wiped out cut-throat price wars is claimed in comparison of figures of production and revenue for such years as 1934 and 1939: 1,960,145 exported tons sold for \$68,190,085 in the former year and 1,938,296 tons, a decrease, sold for \$85,190,912 in the latter year, an increase of about \$17,000,000. United States consumers paid this increase. Since the outbreak of war, Canadian producers also have received the exchange on U.S. funds for their newsprint.

Shortly after the outbreak of war, and the true-to-form shouting of the *Chicago Tribune* that it wanted no part of European struggles, a petition was presented to the Quebec government by a group of newsprint manufacturers. It asked that prorating be extended to non-commercial mills. Automatically, the issue appeared before the Ontario administration: the two governments had assumed identical newsprint policies. The issue was referred to the timber committees, as one of several problems of departmental policy to be decided.

Almost simultaneously a hue and cry arose about the *Chicago Tribune's* editorial utterances. Bits chosen from editorials, and entire editorials on a few occasions, arrived through the mails from unknown senders for consideration of newspaper editors, members of legislatures, financiers, stock-brokers and even clerics. Editors were visited by exponents of patriotism, and some of them took cracks at the *Tribune*. In short order, representatives of the *Tribune's* Canadian newsprint mills followed up, by mail and afoot. Peculiarly, the Newsprint Association, of which the *Tribune* mills were members, took no side in the issue, though the actions of executives of this organization created the undenied misunderstanding among many editors that it sought extension of prorating to *Tribune* mills. Organized labor, in an encyclical to all pulp, sulphite and newsprint workers, flatly assailed the attack as a financial scheme, and pointed to the *Tribune* mills' 20-year record in promoting union interests, paying highest wages in the industry, providing vacations with pay for all workers and otherwise always having accepted union proposals.

On merit, the earlier suggestions that prorating be extended to non-commercial mills had died a quick death and in 1937 the issue seemed ended.

But with the new hue and cry against the *Tribune* giving promise of fogging up the whole scene, so that the *New York Times* and other publications might find their non-prorated newsprint suddenly prorated along with the *Tribune*, the exponents of extension began to push the attack. The situation resolved itself into two phases: the original open demand upon the governments that prorating should be extended to all mills, inasmuch as no requests on economic grounds could ask for its extension to only a part of the non-prorated industry; and the propaganda attack which sought to create an impression that the horrible, back-stabbing, anti-British *Tribune* had been receiving favors, and those favors should cease.

The issue was before the committees, with sessions of both provincial legislatures looming. The reports of those committees were in course of preparation. So at this point statements began issuing from different quarters predicting chaos for the newsprint industry, though poor timing allowed these to issue just when financial pages carried advertisements announcing Consolidated Paper's "most profitable year in its history," and a following announcement that this firm was opening another mill to "meet demands." And at this same period of the struggle, the fat fell into the fire.

Unthinkingly, several editors, righteously angry about *Tribune* statements on British policy, took round-house swings at the *Tribune*. And they made the mistake of suggesting, in varying terms, that Canadians might well consider whether they wished the product of Canada's natural resources to be used for printing such utterances. As John Bird said, one keg of dynamite exploded. Although the *Globe and Mail* followed its first editorial with two more two weeks later, declaring that no suggestion should be made of retaliating against the *Tribune* by affecting newsprint supplies, it was too late. Its first editorial had flatly suggested that very thing. So had several other papers.

And in the meantime, U.S. publishers had acted. They could not see the comparatively local tempest in a teapot created by a few mills who sought to acquire some extra newsprint tonnage by cutting down part of non-commercial mills production.

In this effort to make the *Tribune* and others buy paper in the open market, the commercial mills roused a hornets' nest.

The U.S. publishers saw only one thing: a suggestion that their right of freedom of expression was being threatened by a foreign monopoly of an essential commodity. From Cranston Williams, general manager of the American Newspaper Association, went letters to the governments of Canada, Ontario and Quebec demanding if this

were part of governmental policies. To Mr. Vining went a similar demand from a powerful individual publisher who declared he was no friend of Col. R. R. McCormick or of the *Chicago Tribune*, but that he felt U. S. publishers would tolerate and support no penalization of any publication because of its editorial policies.

U.S. newspapers carried stories about the newsprint "threat." *Editor and Publisher*, organ of the U.S. newspaper industry, carried a lead editorial of "friendly advice" to Canadian editors urging them to realize the unsoundness of any such suggestion. And out from Montreal, a few days later, went an Associated Press story, (reaching almost every interested U.S. publication) which declared that "patriotic emotions" had become involved in Canada's prorating problem, forcing the probable dropping of further consideration of the issue until after the war. The story did not probe how the emotions had become stirred up, or by whom, nor did it appear in any Canadian papers.

And the battle still continues, despite the story. Since the first keg of dynamite exploded, just as the Lend-Lease bill was being sounded, and while Washington journalists crossed their fingers in hope that it wouldn't reach the ears of isolationist senators before the president's signature was applied, extra crops of statements about newsprint "chaos" have begun appearing.

## Desinence

The dying landscape

Sprawled awry in a grey pall  
Scarce heard complaints of the ancient, tired sea  
And the faint long call of the last bird . . .  
Nor saw the hunched low cloud

That soberly  
Watched the coup de grâce administered  
By the laughing child on the old sea-wall  
Who raced the wind in a scarlet cape.

RITA M. ADAMS



THE CANADIAN FORUM

# Canada's Job After the War

*Winning Essay in the Student Essay Contest*

*J. S. Stephen*

THE TITLE OF THIS ESSAY would seem at first to imply a discussion of the problems which Canadians were going to have to tackle after the conclusion of the war. However, intelligent discussion and planful preparation to meet these problems must long precede any attempt to deal with them, so that we might say Canada's job after the war must be Canada's job now, and, indeed, should have been Canada's job long ere now.

Previous experience in reconstruction in all countries after the last war suggests what difficulties we might expect to encounter. Our economy, now in high gear with the sole objective of winning the war, will be left hanging in mid-air when that task has been completed. Demobilization, the collapse of the war industries, and the inevitable attending financial readjustments will have repercussions upon every person in the community.

The strain on the nation's economy is certain to be much more severe than was the case with the last war. The democratic form of government has had to go "all out" in this war to meet the challenge of autocracy, never before so completely organized and devoted towards the fomenting and prosecution of war. In addition, the necessary sacrifices of democratic principles will have led us much further away from the way of life which we profess to be defending. Post-war problems of the 1940's will consequently exceed in intensity those of the 1920's.

Unfortunately Canada has entered this war with a federal system in dire need of revision. With customary democratic procrastination we permitted constitutional inconsistencies to accumulate a maze of political, economic and social problems, before, at the breaking point, on the eve of the world crisis, we began to think seriously of redefining dominion-provincial relations. Now, the commission appointed to study the question has submitted its findings and recommendations while we are primarily concerned with repelling the external danger. With the dynamic leadership of a Roosevelt at the helm, and with a truly national outlook on the part of our provincial governments, we might have hopes of clearing up the federal problem before the task of reconstruction is upon us, but the fate of the recent dominion-provincial conference has demonstrated that we have neither. Mr. Hepburn accepts as implacable and irrepressible the sectional differences which we will have to try to minimize and overlook if a solution is to be

found to our federal dilemma, and demands that these differences be fully aired only when the smoke of the overseas clears away. Surely if we are to overcome selfish regionalism, as overcome it we must, in order to reconstitute our decrepit federalism, no time could be more propitious than the present. National unity was never so strong, nor regional complaints relatively so insignificant. It was Mr. King's job to impress this fact with all the resources at his command upon the delegates, and on the strength of it to insist upon some workable revision before the conference disbanded.

The division of legislative powers is, of course, at the root of the federal problem. By not having been able to develop a workable system of amendment, the constitution has assumed a rigidity which is the very opposite of what is necessary for an expanding and progressing federal community. The alignment of powers and of revenues with which to exercise those powers should not be forced to remain unchangeable; conditions in 1941 are not the same as in 1867, nor will those of 1967 be the same as those of today. Flexibility is the essence of successful federalism. Privy council decisions culminating in the Snider case of 1925 have allowed the dominion full exercise of its national powers for the peace, order and good government of the country irrespective of effects upon property and civil rights only in a national "emergency." And the reference cases of 1937 have established that depression or grave economic crises do not fall in this category. Only in time of war can the dominion assume the necessary power to integrate the national economy. When peace comes, dominion predominance in the economic sphere will no longer be constitutionally possible. Hence, the necessity of settling the federal question immediately. Moreover, the federal government at the peace conference will be in the anomalous position of concluding treaties whose terms it cannot be sure of fulfilling if these touch upon provincial duties. How can Canada play her part in international co-operation and the construction of a new world order when she cannot guarantee to implement labor conventions and similar vital aspects of the treaties?

To attempt to discuss the solution would be impossible in the space allotted here. The Sirois commission proposed increased peace-time authority for the dominion, and it is to be hoped that some such set-up as was envisaged in its "Plan I" may be

established before it is too late. Although the report must not be sanctified, it should be earnestly perused and discussed in the hope of provoking thought towards a reasonable solution.

As has already been suggested, war tends to integrate the national economy, with the state itself taking the leading role either by outright participation in industrial and productive activity, or by stringent regulation and requisitioning of normally "free" industry. This increased and elaborate machinery in Ottawa, set up to prosecute the war, should also be used to plan for the return to peace. The assumption of new state activities in the economic and social life of the country will not be so hard for us to condone as in normal peace times because of the regimentation to which we have become accustomed during the war. *Laissez-faire* for Canada died when the habitable frontier became too small to drain off the unfit and discontented, and in the twenties social legislation became indispensable with the influx of these elements to the cities. Moreover, the accentuated nationalism after the last war and especially since the depression has compelled countries whose economies were based upon export staples to adopt tactics of state intervention to protect themselves from disastrous fluctuations in the world market. We must not blind ourselves to the fact that whereas famine-torn Europe will increase our export trade in the first year or so of peace, reconstruction over there will inevitably close the doors to our primary products. State control is going to be necessary to prevent our primary producers and financial wizards from leading the country to depression once again. Obviously we must continue to produce for export, but that production must be kept within reasonable limits of demand.

The tariff has long been the central problem of Canadian federalism for only by this device could integration of the national economy be achieved in the face of geographical difficulties. Yet it has seriously affected primary producers by raising their cost of living and production, and by inducing retaliatory tariffs in the countries they might otherwise claim as markets. One way of alleviating this condition lies along the lines of further socialization, especially where private industry could be construed as serving a continuous public demand. Great Britain has attempted to meet external trade rivalry without raising the tariff or lowering the standard of living, by extensive public operation of transport, electrical, broadcasting, communication, and municipal services. Extension of such measures in Canada would have similar results.

All this, of course, means long-term planning—

a concept regarded as necessary today both within private industry and in the socialized state. The more that planning is introduced into Canadian government the less we will be victimized by pressure groups, for the scope of the pressure is thereby reduced to incidental points of administration and execution. This factor is of great importance in a country so diverse in race, creed, industry and geographical extent as is our own.

Apart from this, abnormal fluctuations in conditions of production have such violent repercussions on the whole economy that it becomes important to secure continuity and minimize the effects of extremes. For instance, sensible insurance schemes combined with adequate conservation measures would level the effect of the cyclical drought and boom periods in western wheat growing. The dominion government has as yet only scratched at the surface of this problem. Likewise in an industry such as the Atlantic fisheries, the indigenous coöperative schemes should be supplemented by contributory compulsory insurance schemes, as well as operating allowances for purchase of capital equipment, wherever continuance in the industry, being warranted, is threatened.

The war-time expedient of special boards composed of representatives of industry and labor as well as civil servants, devoted to organization of the national economy, is surely worthy of a trial in peace-time. Possibly following the war a central planning board could be established with subsidiary boards to investigate individual problems such as unemployment, labor relations, redirection of industry, wheat, conservation, immigration and so on. These boards need have no administrative authority whatsoever, like the British economic advisory council; their function should be focused in the central board—to think out some reasonable purposeful direction for the national economy to take. Needless to say, the personnel should be carefully and impartially chosen in order that their findings should carry some weight.

Quick action will be demanded of this planning machinery the moment that armistice is declared. Jobs will have to be provided for the demobilized veterans and workers in war industries. To cover the interim required for the return to normal conditions of business, the various governments might consider embarking upon much needed programs of public improvement, always, it is to be hoped, keeping the element of patronage in the background. Under the general supervision of a central planning board much could be safely accomplished. Local and provincial governments could inaugurate projects of slum clearance, better housing, public health, improvement of traffic facilities and safety devices, the construction or

rebuilding of vital highways, and the further development of coal, iron, oil and waterpower, where feasible. Idle plant capacity could be temporarily and possibly permanently used by contracts for these and other governmental programs. Extension of the field of the public utility by cheaper and more extensive air transport and passenger service, operated by the dominion government would incidently make use of much material developed during the war in the air force. And, most important, the dominion should tackle projects which, besides using man power and plant capacity, would further national integration. Among these would fall the long overdue St. Lawrence water and power project and the construction of a pipe line from Alberta oil fields to the head of the lakes.

To meet the anticipated unemployment and the responsibility for war casualties, we should be well fortified with sound and extensive social service schemes. Constitutionality is at present the main deterrent, for the Canadian public is, in general, critical of its governments for not providing more adequately for the unfortunate. In fact, it is practically certain that some constitutional revision is imminent which would place legal authority and financial capability with the same governing body. The general consensus is that the dominion should have jurisdiction over those elements of economic relief whose effects are most important to the continuous progress of the nation as a whole, while the provinces would have jurisdiction or would coöperate with the dominion in matters where the aim is chiefly to avoid or relieve distress. Thus the dominion would look after the unemployed employables, relief to primary producers, workmen's compensation, labor relations. With the provinces should rest education, old age pensions, mother's allowances, health services and the like. The degree of surrender of existing provincial powers will depend, of course, on the degree to which our leaders are prepared to go in integrating the economy at the expense of regionalism. This trend can scarcely be carried too far; the main arguments for maintaining provincial rights are based on the theory that local interests are best administered by local governments, and are born of the inherent tendency in all of us to conserve that which has traditional foundation. Yet a properly safeguarded devolution of executive powers having national focus in Ottawa would meet the first requirement. As for the second contention, it is submitted that conditions which justified provincial autonomy in 1867 do not necessarily justify it today. We must all learn to be Canadians first and members of our own particular provinces only incidently.

All proposals herein have postulated a consider-

able increase in governmental activity. The business man has erected time-honored objections to this tendency as a facade for the protection of his own unbridled license. Unfortunately, bureaucracy has lent reason to his objections by taking advantage of its various immunities and securities, and has laid itself open to well-merited charges of inefficiency, waste, red tape, dilatoriness and lack of consideration for individuals. While these objections are to some extent inevitable, they can be chiefly ascribed to thoughtless laxity upon the part of the personnel. If, following the war, we are to have a civil service which will win the respect and coöperation of the citizen body, we must prepare to attack the personnel problem root and branch. In Britain the emphasis is upon the candidate's character and breadth of knowledge, rather than his degree of expertise. The British civil service, while admittedly not perfect, has amply demonstrated that the key to efficiency lies in a traditional ideal of anonymous and unselfish dedication to the public welfare. To instil this spirit into the Canadian service we must concentrate on wiping out the last vestiges of Jacksonianism in recruitment and promotion. The strength and direction of this phase of control reflect the character of the service. Increased emphasis on the competitive examination, the viva-voce, with, as Macaulay put it, "the best moral test that can be devised," and regular inspection and reclassification would enhance its prestige in the public eye. These measures could be profitably extended to all who may fill any role in the public service after the war.

The essay has dealt primarily with the need of a new approach to post-war Canadian economic, political and social life, rather than with a complete and lucid analysis of individual problems likely to result from the war. This treatment has been intentional for three reasons. Firstly, the length and outcome of the war as well as the nature of the peace to follow are still completely in the stage of speculation so that any accurate conception of post-war developments in Canada is not possible. Secondly, post-war problems will be complicated or conditioned by what solution we are able to achieve, if any, regarding the backlog of dominion-provincial difficulties which have already accumulated. Thirdly, detailed suggestions as to treatment of the post-war problems can only be satisfactorily dealt with by a planning commission of experts, fortified by prepared data of extensive research.

This approach must be typical of the average man's view of his function in the future governing of his country. The only course that public opinion can take in the complexities of modern government is to decide upon the direction or shape which it is

desired a given policy should take and then delegate to the administrators the authority, with adequate democratic safeguards, to implement that policy with the help of all the best technical and consultative aid that can be provided. And bureaucracy will never exist if recruitment is held to high standards, and public opinion remains alert and expressive.

### *Sara and Abraham*

An old woman loveth only the heart;  
It is her wisdom, it is her desire . . .  
When Sara, that great woman, had grown old  
And the great ringing peace had settled down,  
It had been given her to bear what needed  
Strength, not wisdom, a son who was called Isaac.  
Now she had slipped beyond the things of love  
That once were wisdom and were now unwise,  
If any motion of maternal love  
Survived in that bosom, bare these many years,  
It were like a secret and illicit  
Passion in the young.

She once was young  
And felt her spirit leaning toward the flesh.  
Now feeling had grown metaphysical,  
Listening to the unknown tongue of some  
Old theology hidden in the earth.  
Sara, to whom all things untimely came,  
Bore Isaac when she should have borne Death.  
It was no irony to warm the heart  
That he should come so late that both could never  
Comprehend the love she understood.  
But did flesh ever comprehend the heart?  
Do not the body and the heart contend  
Daily in the tents and in the fields?  
Have they not striven in the towns and plains,  
In the crowded places, the lonely places,  
Out upon the roads and in the hills,  
In the day, in the night, always and ever?  
And was ever aught given that could be  
Remembered longer than a day, a night?

At last, Abraham, the great lover,  
His buttocks and his blood grown thin, abandoned  
The names of love to sit in the cool shade.  
And his Hebraic mouth, once hung with the dark  
Sweet, was withered like the unripened fruit  
That had fallen in the long, hot summer.  
All his fury gone, his anger feeble  
And fruitless now, he mourned the loss of his  
wrath.  
An old man's wrath was but the shuddering  
Of bones and flesh: the blood that had been a whip  
Was river water lapping in his throat.  
And when the night swarmed up out of the hills  
On a cool wind, he was as jealous of the  
Warm fire as he once had been of a woman.

This was Abraham coming down to dust,  
Greatness fallen into the ways of time.

Pharaoh had praised her beauty in her youth  
But Abraham had only said how wise  
She was, and she remembered both out of  
The delight and disappointment of her heart,  
Remembering she might have been a queen  
Of Egypt and lain in the fullness of plenty;  
That Abraham had never loved her much  
As she was barren and he was scrupulous.  
And then the countryside had praised his wisdom  
That had got a miracle in her—  
He that was sitting loveless by the fire,  
Whose mouth had searched the mouths of maids,  
whose lips  
Had sucked the white teeth . . . And Abraham,  
Seeing how that Sara was still happy,  
Her heart singing among the honey-pots,  
That ancient rind, mourning his wrath one day,  
In the fullness of his time and the earth's fullness,  
In the plenitude of the great hill of the sea,  
And the time of the hills that lay beyond his tent,  
Went out into the wilderness to kill Isaac.

GEORGE CURTSINGER

### *Thought*

*(out of P. I. Tschaikovsky's 5th symphony)*

Who may achieve the uttermost?  
Pity is an oppression.  
Not to crutch my brother; he must get him a  
straight back,  
A self stood up to the sun.  
Charity is a coërcion.  
Not to feed my friend; he must be profit for his  
own fodder,  
His brain a brave, hungry hero.  
I front and overturn  
The old compassions now become  
Terrific tools of class to lever men!

PAUL HALLEY



THE CANADIAN FORUM

# Heigho -- The T.S.O.

Ronald Hambleton

IT IS NOT A DAY too early to consider what contribution the T.S.O. has made to Toronto's cultural life by the presentation of its forty-seventh season of concerts. While they are still fresh and the memory retains the moments of thrill and boredom that the mind experienced, some interesting conclusions may be drawn from a rapid survey of the season's work. Every piece played had a great moment in it for someone; so while trying to evaluate these ten concerts, I hope that not too much time will have to be given to faults which are nobody's, such as accidental noises off, the occasional sour note from an individual instrument, which, while they make good copy for a day-after review, don't mean much as a guide for future policy. I must say, however, in this context, that the tendency in the daily reviews has been almost invariably in the other direction, that of quaint blindness to corrigible faults, of no remonstrance, and of sheer effusion when even a mild exhortation would have been salutary. There has been no criticism.

To begin, the T.S.O. has played fifty-six works, representing thirty-three composers, ranging in time from the middle sixteenth to the mid-twentieth century, roughly four hundred years. *Ipsa facta*, a balanced diet. For convenience, I have divided the fifty-six pieces into three groups: familiar, unfamiliar and miscellaneous. Naturally, the familiar works are those which bring the 'music lovers,' i.e., the *Coriolan*, the *Pathétique*, *Rosamunde*, the *Postman's Knock* Symphony, the *Egmont*, etc., usually the basic front to a program, to hide the schemes of the enterprising conductor who can then bring new works in the back way. This Sir Ernest did and yet did not do. Who could fail to welcome such items as *Harold in Italy*, *Suite from the Fitzwilliam Book*, the Schumann Concerto for cello, or that charming, so Beethovenish song *Adelaide*? But, I was constantly wondering, where are the moderns? Here! exclaim Messrs. Farnon, Ridout, Bates, Hill, Smith. This rather is a stickler. Two of these gentlemen are good serious musicians, and it is necessary to support Canadian artists, but it would have been better even for their sakes to be heard beside Bliss, Britten, Honegger, Dohnanyi, Bartok, Stravinsky, etcetera, than to be so placed that Bates' *Nocturne* was a follow-up of Tchaikovsky, Ridout of Schubert, Smith of Sibelius. Farnon was better off doing a George Formby in a fancy-dress costume in the wake of the *Cosi Fan Tutte* overture, but Mozart was a pretty good arranger

too. There's a chance that these Canadian composers would be treated differently than local boys hopelessly (shall we say?) trying to match Mozart, (give them a hand anyway) if presented along with a composer of the same time, writing in a similar idiom.

Let's look at the orchestra and conductor. As head man, the conductor has a double function: first to give signals so that the ideas he has given the orchestra at rehearsal will be recreated, complex passages clarified and the whole work integrated; second, he must be sensitive to the music, so that those in the audience who listen in one way may identify themselves with him, and yet he must not alienate other listeners who believe that the conductor should obtrude as little as possible. From an academic standpoint, Sir Henry Wood is an impeccable conductor; his signals couldn't be mistaken by a musician even if he were playing upside down. Sir Thomas Beecham, from the same standpoint, is hopeless. His signals are given definitely, concisely, but no-one unfamiliar with his method could read them. There is no question, though, who is the better conductor. Sir Ernest, looked at in this light, leaves little to be desired. He gets his way with the orchestra and his actions are graceful, but he lacks the power to create a *nexus* in difficult passages. For instance, in the *Seventh*, when Beethoven is in a tight spot, and gets out of it by an intricate counterpoint in the bass (as in the last movement) Sir Ernest gives the impression of a man stirring his foot in a quagmire and trying to see bottom. But that is not a corrigible fault, so let me mention one aspect of his conducting which affects, me personally, adversely. Perhaps I misread his intention, but it seems as if he is constantly trying to freshen up his interpretation by bringing out 'hidden voices,' a practice which, if intentional, gives a sensational and ill-considered reading. Again in Beethoven's *Seventh*, this trait gives to the second movement the feeling that Sir Ernest wasn't sure which voice he was working with at the time. I won't mention the precariousness of the brass, or such technical problems, for he probably knows them by heart. Of the high spots in the series, and there were not a few, let me mention the performance of the Schubert *Fifth* and the Mozart *G Minor*, for these two depend for their excellence on a beautiful, coherent string section, which the Toronto Symphony possesses. Before we pass to the soloists of the series, I should like to record the *gusto* and restraint, in short the per-

fection, with which the tuba player delivered his solo passage in Weber's vulgar, but obviously high-class *Perpetuum Mobile*.

Unfortunately, I missed the concert at which Francis James and Harvey Doney were the soloists, so I can say nothing that is not on the program.

Of the soloists who played strings, Miss Parlow had the best opportunity to leave a memorable impression, for she chose the Sibelius violin *Concerto Op. 47*, a work which has everything the imaginative artist wants. Miss Parlow played with considerable energy, energy of the right kind, but the graceful contours of this concerto were somewhat blurred by technical defects. This is a great piece of music, and if the soloist did not satisfy the demands of the exacting critic, she did well to choose it for the sake of those who can hold it before them as a personal performance of considerable merit. Mr. Primrose's playing of the Berlioz *Harold in Italy* and the Ridout *Ballade* for viola, set me off in the old circle wondering if a concert is more of a success when the artist is so completely self-effacing or not? He certainly played the pieces well, but there was so much that was not the performer, that it seemed almost not to matter whether he was standing up in front or not. Miss Nelsova, in the cello *Concerto* by Schumann, a work with little to recommend it except its rarity and the occasional passage of great beauty, gave a completely mature performance.

To provide an answer to "what do they know of Macmillan, who only Macmillan know?" Beecham stopped by for a couple of hours, pranced and raged, and delivered to each one in the audience a personal package of musical *essence*, to which was added an extra part of Beecham for good measure, but it still came out even.

Mr. Wilks, pianist in the *C Minor Concerto* of Beethoven, allowed his attention to wander, or came to the platform without adequate preparation. Lapses of memory are easily excusable, both Wilks, and Dansereau in the Tchaikovsky had them, but in the latter's case, it was covered up subtly, in the former's, not. Mr. Munz and Mr. Dansereau, both fine artists, made individual successes of the Liszt *Concerto in A* and the Tchaikovsky *Concerto in B Flat* respectively. There are few pianists who possess a concert manner as irreproachable as that of Mr. Munz. He never shows off. Passages of apparent irrelevance, with which Liszt's music abounds, meant something to him, and he communicated an interest and a decision that was refreshing to hear; encores were played without ostentation, generously, but not thrust upon the audience; he was sensitive and subtle. Mr. Dansereau's more vivid personality became an asset in every bar of Tchaikovsky's concerto. He is a

clean player with plenty of verve; apt to play romantically and with introspection, with an oh-it-can't-be-as-poignant (or lovely, or sad, or intimate) -as-I'm-playing-it air.

The only vocalist, Mr. Laderoute, chose two arias by Handel and one by Lalo, and a long, moral, barely manageable concert aria, *Adelaide*, by Beethoven, all of which he sang in a globular voice with appealing sentiment. The last song, of a type once so popular, with its long perorations, repetitions, emphasis on syllables, reminded me of an aria I have heard once, but never located since, *Che partenza amara* by Mozart. It is a pity to hear these beautiful arias so rarely.

This then, is what was heard last winter. The tentative program for next winter includes three living composers, and a surprisingly pedestrian choice of stock numbers. Space doesn't permit itemization, however. There are, undoubtedly, difficulties in the addition of new works to an orchestra's repertoire. The choice of what works are to be added is a serious responsibility, which should rest upon several persons. It is hoped that the twenty hours of symphonic music next winter will include a good percentage of contemporary music and an adventurous selection from classical literature.

## Hog's Bazaar

R. M. Hamilton

**O**N THE PHONE, when Mr. Train inquired about the place, the name sounded like Hog's Bazaar. He and Mrs. Train were all for telling Mrs. Winter that they'd take it then and there. Of course, when they went out the five miles from the city to look at the house, and the acre of land that went with it, they saw the name painted on a board over the front door. The sign was a relic of an earlier day but the name, still quite clear, was Heart's Desire. Almost in spite of that the Trains signed a lease for a year, and the day they moved in they took the board down. They intended to put up another sign with Hog's Bazaar painted on it, but they never got around to it.

Miss Winter, that is, Mrs. Jenning, the landlady, aroused their mild curiosity from the beginning. People in the district who didn't know her seemed to know a great deal about her, and the Trains found themselves more than once the object of reflected interest. And then, there were the two names she had. The grocer called her one and the milkman the other. She had her name as Miss Winter in the telephone book. Jim, the part time hired man, called her Miss Winter, and the receipt

for the rent was signed Miss Amelia Winter-Jenning.

The first Saturday afternoon Mr. Train and Jim were putting in seed potatoes together and Jim needed only a question or two to start him off on the explanation of the riddle of the names. Yes, Jim began, Miss Winter's real name is Mrs. Jennings, but she doesn't like to use it more than she needs to. She married her husband just the day before he died. "That is," and Jim straightened and arched his eye-brows suggestively as he said it, "he married her." The two men then worked to the end of the rows together, and Jim sat on the wheelbarrow and lit his pipe.

"The Winters and the Jennings were among the last of the old families to stay in Orecliff when the land was cut up for cottages, and she was the last of her family hereabouts and Jennings was the last of his. You'll hear some stories about those two families, Mr. Train, before you're here much longer. Nobody seems to know how it all started but they hated each other like poison. But that was a long time before John Jennings took sick and died, and he died just two months ago."

Jim mused for a moment, while Train settled himself against the fence. "Mrs. Train tells me she wants the front room repapered as soon as I can get time away from the garden." Train thought of the ugly gay green and yellow walls. "Miss Winter had that papering done," Jim went on, leaving the obvious unsaid, "to have the funeral service held in that room. You see, Miss Winter got the job of housekeeper for Jennings not long after he took to his bed. The first two women he had quit inside of a month. Miss Winter was hard up at the time and that made it easier for her to swallow the family hate, I guess, especially as she knew Jennings had only about a year to live. So she turned up one day and asked Jennings for the job."

"D'you know what I'm going to tell you, Mr. Train? That man almost had a stroke that day from laughing. He got out of his bed and came down to the kitchen in his nightshirt and made me get the whiskey to drink with him, as he said, to the end of the bad blood between the Winters and the Jennings. Then he started laughing and the first thing I knew he was on the floor, white and shaking and making tittering noises in his throat. I carried him back to bed and I thought he was done for but he came around better, it seemed to me, than he had been before. That was the last time he forgot the doctor's orders. Well, maybe not the last, but he—well, the next day Miss Winter took over."

Before Mr. Train could get in a question, Jim was off again. "I've heard it said that Amelia

Winter was a wild, stubborn girl when she was young—that was before my time around here—and there were days, I'll say, when she was as sharp and stiff as they come." Mr. Train recalled only that Mrs. Jennings's face had struck him as being solid, neither young nor old, with a mouth a bit sullen. "I thought that Miss Winter . . ." Mr. Train tardily made an effort to be conversational but Jim, lighting his pipe again, continued between rapid puffs.

"After she was here—a month or so—she suddenly—said to me, 'Jim, I guess you're wondering—how I could forget my father's feelings about Jennings and come to work here and look after him? Well, I never had any reason to hate the Jennings, I suppose I just absorbed enough of father's hate to make it a habit, and I never got over it.' Then she said, 'And I don't think I will get out of the habit now.' And I knew what she meant. Being Jennings's housekeeper and nurse was a mean job and he made it as mean as he could without forcing her to leave. You see, he wanted her to stay." Mr. Train didn't see, but he let it pass.

Jim twisted around on the wheelbarrow pointing with his pipe. "You see that power-line?" The steel pylons curved toward Ottawa along the edge of the escarpment across the valley. "Philip Winter was boss of construction on that line. When they put in the dam up the river, Philip Winter—that was the Winters' father—let the boys look after the farm and he went to work for the power company, like many of the other men around here. Twice Jennings was put under old Winter and twice Jennings was fired in a hurry. When the Winters lost their new barn that same year there was a lot of talk . . . but anyway, Jennings never would have electricity put in his house after that. He seemed to get some satisfaction out of having no truck with the company Winter worked for. But Jennings was like that, and he's not the first I've known who'd cut his hand off to hurt someone else."

"Well, the two of them, that is Miss Winter and Jennings, fought about everything possible. She wanted the electricity put in and he wouldn't have it. She was at him every other day, she said she couldn't do her work properly without it, and she detested the dirty oil-lamps. She wouldn't light one, nor would she light the oil-stove, and she always had an answer ready for him if he complained about not getting his food on time, which happened often enough. He'd work on her nerves, too, by recalling all the stories that ever were told about the Winters, but they both could play that game. He'd ask her whatever became of her sister Elsie, and she'd say she went to the States to get married, or something like that. She was the one who was put in the asylum, and of course he knew

that. Then she'd say that it was too bad about his wife, that was the first Mrs. Jenning, not being at home among her family and friends when she was taken so suddenly. Did you know his first wife left him and worked in one of the government offices? They'd raise their voices whenever I was in hearing distance.

"Some days she'd threaten to leave and he'd back down a bit. Like the time he said he'd get the electricity put in and had the electrician figure out how much it would cost. That's as far as he went. The only reason I can give for the way they acted was that they liked it. Of course, when he began to sink near the end, they let up a lot.

"One day about a week before he went I was filling the lamp in his room when he called me over and made me get close so I'd hear his whisper. He made me swear I'd keep it to myself. Do you know what that man wanted me to do? He asked me to go into town and get him a marriage license—for him and Miss Winter! Can you stick that? Sir, I thought the man was crazy sick, at first. He said on no account was she to know. Can you imagine a sane man wanting to do a thing like that? Well, he was as sane as he ever was, and I"—here Jim shrugged his shoulders, as though excusing his part in the business, "I knew a fellow I could trust for a witness and we went into town and got him his license."

"Why didn't he want Miss Winter to know about it?" Mr. Train got in his question because Jim waited for it.

He answered slowly as though he didn't expect to be believed, "So that she wouldn't have a chance to say no." He paused again. "At least that's my reason, but it would take a better man than me to explain the things Jenning did. It seemed to me that he wanted to take her by surprise and have the last gloat. Well, he sure had lots to gloat over those last few days."

"It worked out as he wanted it to?" asked Mr. Train, anticipating the answer.

"Just as Jenning planned it. He was worried about the minister, of course, but he had a few words with him when I brought the reverend in to see him, and it was him who really turned the trick. Miss Winter was doing the washing in the back kitchen when I went to tell her that Mr. Jenning had a surprise for her, as I put it, to let her expect something. She walked into the bedroom wiping her soapy hands on her apron and before they were dry the minister had one of her hands in his and was explaining softly to her that Jenning wanted to be sure that she'd get everything without action being taken against her by Jenning's people. She just stared at the minister with eyes that went a little beady-like and she started to smile as though

she was thinking of something far away and she smiled like that all through the ceremony. When I held Jenning's hand as he signed the paper for the register he began to titter softly the same way I'd heard him the time he fell on the floor. Sir, that man fell asleep tittering, and that was the last time he closed his eyes." Jim stopped as though that was all he had to say.

"Did Mrs. Jenning get the front room papered while he was dying?" Mr. Train was reluctant to let it end so suddenly.

"Yes," said Jim as he got up, "I forgot that—she had the room done, and she had the wires put in and the power connected in time for the burial service. She was like another woman, I'd never seen her so chipper. She went into town the same afternoon as the wedding and bought the paper and the brightest dress you ever saw, which she wore at the burying, and she came back in the electrician's truck. By the day after he was dead, she had the room ready for him."

He started toward the cellar door, half-way there he stopped and raised his voice, "There was only one hitch—he couldn't be buried at night, so she drew the blinds and had the electric lights blazing bright all through the service."

## Civil Liberties

THE WITNESSES OF JEHOVAH continue to hold the spotlight. During the period under review (March 1 to April 10), 15 charges have been laid alleging membership in the organization or distribution of its literature. 17 convictions have been obtained. ¶Here's the record: Witnesses charged, 15, convicted, 17; Communists charged, 7, convicted, 1; membership in other illegal organizations charged, 1, convicted, 2; subversive statements charged, 8, convicted, 6; sabotage charged, 1, convicted, 0; being an alien, attempting to leave Canada, charged 1, convicted 1, being an alien, failing to report monthly, charged, 1, convicted, 1; lending a gun to an alien for use on a trapline without obtaining a permit from the R.C.M.P., charged, 1, convicted, 1. ¶The Ottawa Citizen was charged with two offences under the D.C.R. Both charges were dismissed. It might be interesting to see if the same result would follow had the same editorial appeared in some other papers we can think of . . . ¶12 books, newspapers or periodicals have been banned from circulation in Canada. ¶48 detention orders were made under the D.C.R. from Nov. 1 to Feb. 17. 30 of these concerned Germans, 6 Italians, 2 Communists and 1 a member of the National Unity party. During the same period the advisory committees reported on 83 cases. Release was recommended in 24 cases, but in 9 instances the minister declined to follow the recommendations of the committees. ¶Between Feb. 17 and March 17 3 detention orders were made. The committees reported on 12 cases and recommended release of 8. The advice was taken in all cases. ¶Harold J. Laski, in the Montreal Star, discusses the use of its power over civil liberties by the government of Great Britain. "This is the record as it stands so far: Roughly this is to say

that some 1,600 citizens are or have been detained for various periods; some 150 persons have been fined amounts up to £50; and 23 persons have been imprisoned for periods not exceeding three months. As one to whom civil liberty is a matter of deepest urgency, I cannot believe that anyone with a sense of proportion can regard these figures as indicative of a desire in the executive to menace the freedom of the citizen." [Mr. Lapointe has informed the House of Commons that, up to March 25, 1941, 870 persons have been interned. Canada has roughly one-quarter of the population of Great Britain. Canada is, as yet, not threatened with the danger of invasion. [George Innes, Hanna, Alta., was charged under the D.C.R. as the result of his reactions to a newsreel. It

appears that Mr. Innes booed loudly when the image of Mr. King appeared upon the screen, and clapped vigorously for Adolf Hitler. The charge was dismissed, for "statements" liable to cause disaffection are punishable but, apparently, "demonstrations" are not included. [Seven "Witnesses" in Welland, Ont., had their sentences increased by a county court judge from \$20.00 or 30 days to \$200.00 or 6 months. [Up to March 27, 325 periodicals and newspapers were denied circulation in Canada. Nine Canadian papers have been closed, and 1 suspended for 3 weeks. 140 U.S. publications have been denied entry, and 3 from Great Britain. Exclusive of Germany and Italy, 173 publications from countries other than the above have been banned.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

### The Ghetto and After

QUEST, *The Evolution of a Scientist*: Leopold Infeld; Doubleday Doran; pp. 342; \$3.75.

HONEST AUTOBIOGRAPHY always makes good reading, and this autobiography is honest—not in the impossible sense of telling the whole truth, which would in any case be tedious, but because it is frank and direct, both in style and thought. Unlike so many writers, the author does not tell his story before a looking glass, or care overmuch what figure he cuts in any particular incident. Then, in common with the writings of other distinguished exiles from the European countries overrun by Hitler, this book has a special appeal for intelligent democrats, who know that we all bear some responsibility for the sufferings of the peoples who stood first in the path of the Nazi wave; we are anxious to know and understand those peoples, so that one day we may make some atonement for past sins, and help to rebuild, or to build better. Certainly, as this book reminds us, we should not aim to restore the political and economic system of the Poland of 1938.

Born and bred in the Cracow ghetto, cramped and confined by poverty and a narrow education, against which he rebelled even as a child, Mr. Infeld makes the story of his early life almost as vivid to his readers as it is to himself. Intensely determined, he slowly but persistently comes nearer to achieve the freedom and education of which he dreamed as a child. Then, in 1914, came the war, and military service in the Austrian army, bitterly resented as an interruption of his studies and somewhat unscrupulously circumvented. This first third of the book is the best by far, and it is very good indeed.

Anti-semitism is a central theme, as it must be in the life-story of any distinguished Jew, especially in eastern Europe, and the discussions of it are no less searching for being calm and even detached; anti-semitism itself being no less beastly where it is insidiously ignorant of its own nature.

Professor Infeld, now on the staff of the University of Toronto, is a very distinguished mathematical physicist, and the lay reader, though quite unable to evaluate his contributions to learning, cannot but be fascinated by the singleness of purpose which enabled him to overcome all obstacles even if, with the tide of reaction and prejudice rising in Poland, he had in the end to leave Europe altogether, in 1938, to achieve the scholarly life for which

he was so obviously fitted. Few men have had to struggle so hard, at least in the freer democracies, not indeed for distinction which no man can command, but for the right to be a scholar at all. Indeed, as he struggles on from one teaching post to another, in schools and universities, barred as a Jew so often, the singleness of purpose is only seen in retrospect and was not always clear, least of all to himself. Perhaps this part of the book, which gives it its sub-title, may weary the non-academic reader a little, for the story deals perforce with university life from the point of view of the faculty, who are ever, taken as a whole, the dullest part of any university.

With exceptions of course, like the brilliant men with whom Infeld worked in Germany, in England and America. These he makes known to us in brief and telling sketches, with a full length portrait of the great Einstein himself. Since Einstein's fame is such that even the man in the street is interested in him—and Infeld makes some shrewd suggestions as to the causes of this extraordinary if well deserved reputation—the story of their collaboration will be read with special interest. There is so rarely general agreement as to a man's greatness that, after all, it is fascinating to find out what one whom all call great is really like, especially when he has such a kindly and charming personality.

More intimately personal is the section in which Infeld tells us of his first marriage, to an invalid wife who died before he left Poland. Here too the author gives an honest and moving account, though I doubt if that side of a man's life can be told in an autobiography as effectively as in novel form. It is so much closer to him than parents, childhood, failure or success. And the same applies to his American marriage.

Infeld is primarily a scientist, but the habit of clear thinking does not desert him, as it does so many, when he looks at the world or at himself. He has not many illusions about either, and his many interesting reflections never overstep his own knowledge and experience. He is never ponderous, and he can be very amusing, as in his first impressions of Toronto: "It must be good to die in Toronto. The transition between life and death would be continuous, painless and scarcely noticeable in this silent town. I dreaded the Sundays and prayed to God that if he chose for me to die in Toronto, he would let it be on a Saturday afternoon to save me from one more Toronto Sunday." Altogether, a very human and humane book.

G. M. A. GRUBE

## Pacific Affairs

CANADA AND THE FAR EAST—1940: A. R. M. Lower; New York, Institute of Pacific Relations; Toronto, Canadian Institute of International Affairs; pp. 152; \$1.25.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS is an unofficial body composed of the national councils of eleven national institutes in those countries which have interests in the Pacific. One of its member institutes is the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The I.P.R. is engaged in a series of studies on the problems arising from the conflict in the Far East, and this volume by Professor Lower of Winnipeg is one of these. As Professor Lower remarks, it is significant that we in Canada continue to speak of the other side of the Pacific as the Far East although we reach it by going westward and it is only the East to people who live in Britain and Europe and who reach it by the Suez or Cape route. The book begins with an historical analysis of Canada's relationship to the Sino-Japanese conflict, followed by a chapter on the attitudes taken by our Canadian newspapers. Then the factors which determine our Pacific policy are analyzed—missions, trade, oriental settlement, and the geographical bases of defense—and the book concludes with an appendix on the two areas of Canada which look out to the Pacific, British Columbia and Alberta. All this is done very clearly and concisely. Professor Lower seems to have been left fairly free to express his own conclusions. This must be because the book is an I.P.R. publication rather than a C.I.I.A. one. Imagine a C.I.I.A. book characterizing the editorial policy of the Toronto Globe and Mail as "a vigorous but indiscriminate and unpredictable reactionism," or explaining that Canadian Business, as a Montreal organ close to the textile industries of that area (who were suffering from Japanese competition), "took a high humanitarian tone" about Japanese methods in China!

F. H. U.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR, DIPLOMACY AND PEACE 1914-1919: Austin van der Slice; University of Pennsylvania Press; pp. 408; \$4.00.

THIS TIMELY and interesting study should be read by all labor leaders. It gives a thorough and well documented analysis of labor's efforts to formulate peace aims and to force them upon the attention of the Allied governments during the last war and at Versailles, both internationally and specifically in Britain, France and the U.S.A. Labor very largely failed, but the study of past failures is an essential condition of future success. Labor, when organized industrially and politically, is one of the few channels through which the mass of the people can make their weight felt. If farmers' organizations could evolve a joint peace platform with them, then perhaps this time the peoples themselves could ensure that real peace may at last be established.

In the first 62 pages Professor van der Slice gives a brief survey of the whole field and this is followed by more special studies. Ever since 1915 British and French labor—having failed to prevent the outbreak of war—were pressing for a statement of war aims, not realizing that these were already circumscribed by secret treaties of which neither parliament nor the people were aware. And the principles which they outlined: open diplomacy, restoration of conquered territories, international labor laws, a league or federation of nations, open access to raw

materials, still remain the basis of permanent peace. Only their insistence on self-determination for every nation has now been shown to neglect that surrender of absolute sovereignty without which we can only drift back to international anarchy.

The problem was easier then because, although labor in enemy countries did not meet, both sides were in touch with neutrals and thus remained aware of each other's point of view. Now this is not possible, but consultation between labor organizations in the Commonwealth and the U.S.A. seems all the more imperative.

Nor were the demands of labor altogether ignored. Indeed the governments followed the progress of labor opinion with uneasy and salutary apprehension. A further lesson can be drawn: labor organizations identified themselves so closely with President Wilson, whose fourteen points were indeed very largely a redrafting of earlier labor platforms, that his failure to carry them through discredited labor as well as himself. It will be wise if, while supporting the next world-spokesman (perhaps President Roosevelt?) who echoes their demands, labor yet remains sufficiently detached to retain their own freedom of action.

The story of past failure must not discourage us too far, for it contains the seed of possible success to come. The whole book, however, makes clear the urgent need for Labor, both in the old world and the new (and the new world lagged miserably behind the old in 1914-1919) to face the responsibility that is theirs, to think out the outline of a new and better settlement, and to be ready when the time comes to exert every influence to make sure that this time it shall not fail.

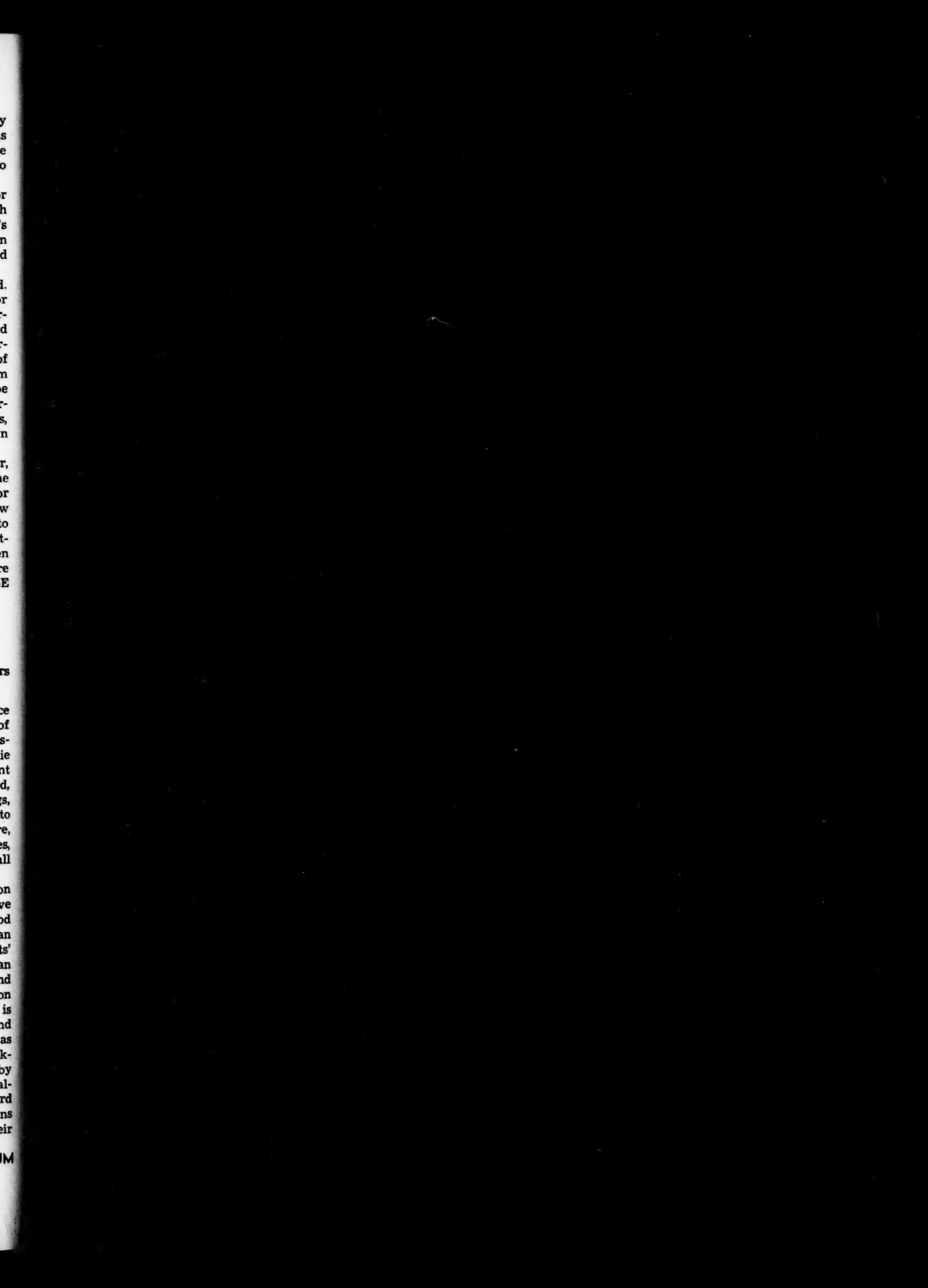
G. M. A. GRUBE

## Love or Die

THE CREED OF CHRIST: Gerald Heard; Harpers (Musson); pp. 169; \$2.50.

THIS IS Mr. Heard's umpteenth attempt to convince people that the way to salvation is not the way of those who believe that an insurance policy is an indescribable legacy for good, and that it is impossible to lie wrapped either in a cocoon of content or 'in a five percent exchequer bond' without becoming completely atrophied, incapable of progress. Throughout his previous writings, he has tried to determine what it is that causes men to live together as they do, in an organic societal structure, conscious of the need which such a communism satisfies, and yet with another greater need, need for what we call communion with God.

THE CREED OF CHRIST, subtitled 'An Interpretation of The Lord's Prayer' is composed of the substance of five addresses given by Mr. Heard at the Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, at the invitation of the Rev. Allan Hunter. Each of the 'five supremely urgent statements' contained in the prayer are taken as the theme of an essay on which the author composes imaginative and apposite variations. The idea behind the whole question of what reason there is in praying, says Mr. Heard, is that the inventive mind, the agile, the interpretative mind is the most treasured possession of man, for by it he has been able to overcome the forces which have been working to cast him down into the rut of specialization, and by it alone can he continue to progress. Why should specialization militate against progress? In the very word 'militate' is the answer. The survival of the fittest means that those survive who are fit not only to live during their



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epoch, but who are fit, i.e. able, to adapt themselves to changes which to specialized types, to those seemingly fittest to survive by sheer weight of armor, are chaos and the collapse of their whole world. In 'The Source of Civilization' (Cape), he writes: "What we view in the Pleistocene seems the carrying out in our own human stock of that final sifting which has always marked a supreme crisis in life. Here, something between a million and half a million years ago, was repeated on our human stock that testing and sifting which when life passed from fish to amphibian, from amphibian to reptile, from reptile to mammal, meant that all save one should choose toughness, facility, specialization and one, the one who alone should win, should choose new awareness, fresh sensitiveness, a wider receptivity." And in the CREEED OF CHRIST: "The crisis we are facing so complacently, the risk we are running with such light-hearted and easy-going provision, is far graver than we seem able to imagine."

"And we today, can we, faced with the present state of a world which we thought was to progress inevitably into utopia by an indefinite increase of its physical powers, so that moral effort would be unnecessary and personal psychological conflict and intrasocial fighting would cease—can we dismiss as 'other-worldly' and ineffective the urgent order to look for the evil in the human spirit, to die to it and to be reborn before we can rebuild?" That is the question.

RONALD HAMBLETON

To thirsty men in summer heat  
Sweet is snow-water, after storms of winter sweet  
Soft airs of spring;  
But when two lovers, met  
Under one coverlet  
Love's worship sing—  
Is there in all the world so sweet a thing?

People forever proclaim the impossibility of translating poetry, but they continue the attempt; what is more, if they discover the smallest opportunity, they print their versions. Why? They grow excited over some passage—who can blame them? Then the passion to do something about it becomes uncontrollable—naturally again: it is precisely what happens when others cannot sleep till they have painted a birch-cope in spring. Next, alas, they lose the conviction (which, however, they continue to report) that no translation can duly represent its original. To their parental eye the new version and the Greek become mysteriously and deliciously twins: what Professor Murray calls "the veil of intervening Creech" dissolves like vapor. Ninety-nine per cent of translations are poor in one way or another. Here I find but one that I can praise with unreserved enthusiasm. It comes from that masterly translator Mr. Humbert Wolfe, best known for his marvellous rendering of Ronsard's "Sonnets pour Hélène." It shows not merely consummate skill, but critical genius too, for Mr. Wolfe has realized what English poet it is that Asclepiades here resembles.

Though I am two and twenty  
I wish that I could lay  
the heavy load of living  
and hopeless love away.  
But if I had my quittance  
young love would only start  
another game of marbles  
with someone else's heart.

Had it but mentioned a "lad" (being hanged, for choice), one would take that for a genuine early Housman.

GILBERT NORWOOD

## Greek Cairngorms

ASCLEPIADES OF SAMOS: William and Mary Wallace; Oxford University Press; pp. 107; \$2.50.

THIS SLENDER and most pleasant volume contains forty-five epigrams from the Greek Anthology—the entire extant work of Asclepiades, who flourished about 300 B.C.; to each is appended all the published English verse-translations, with two or three in Latin. Professor and Mrs. Wallace have written, not only close and useful versions of their own, but also an attractive scholarly introduction and notes. The page, format and type, especially the Greek type, are charming.

It has long been the fashion to praise the Anthology with undiscriminating rapture: there is much talk of flawlessly cut gems and the quintessence of frugal Greek beauty. As a fact, a terribly large number of these compositions are labored polysyllabic lumps that read like translations from German. The current eulogies apply to a small percentage: Asclepiades himself has written better than the average, but only two poems seem to me thoroughly good. The first is well translated by A. C. Benson:

Thou dost hoard thy loveliness;  
What avails it, more or less?  
In this pleasant world above  
There is laughter, there is love;  
In the dumb and dark thereafter,  
There is neither love nor laughter.  
Thou and I, to darkness thrust,  
Moulder into bones and dust.

The other appears with an attendant train of seven versions; perhaps the most successful is Mr. Arundel Esdaile's, though the singing is his own affair, and Mr. J. M. Edmunds' "tale of love" renders the Greek more closely.

## New Fiction

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: Upton Sinclair; Macmillan; pp. 859; \$3.00.

THE STORY of Lanny Budd, begun in *World's End*, continues. It covers the decade between 1919 and 1930, beginning in Europe at the end of the peace conference and ending as Lanny leaves America to return to Europe just after the crash. Throughout the eight hundred odd pages, Lanny plays a varied role—playboy, patron of the arts and parlor pink. An American by parentage, but European by circumstance, he has no strong feeling of nationalism and no political convictions. Having taken part in the peace conference, he left it, thoroughly disillusioned with international politics. What convictions he had formed were purely negative, namely, that the munitions industry, in which the Budd family had made its money, was no place for him, and secondly, that oil was a cause of war. From now on he will devote his talents to making Beauty happy and at the same time enjoy those things which mean most to him personally—the arts in general, chiefly music and painting. His two closest friends, Kurt Meissner and Rick Pomeroy-Nielsen, are now trying to develop their individual talents, the one

in the field of music, the other in the theatre. Lanny's generosity makes it possible for them to do so to the fullest extent. It is around these three that the central theme of the book revolves. It is like a three-ring circus. In one ring Lanny's more or less superficial existence, in another the international scene, in the third Lanny's development as a member of society.

America has washed her hands of European politics and is enjoying a heyday of post-war prosperity. Europe is trying to adjust herself politically and economically, while behind the scenes the oil kings, munitions magnates, industrialists and gamblers are continuing to play havoc with every single state.

As the story goes on, political and social developments in Europe, and particularly England and Germany, are reflected in Kurt and Rick. Kurt, who spends the better part of eight years with Lanny, as Beauty's lover, represents a Germany humiliated by defeat and longing to regain her political and cultural prestige. He gradually falls under the spell of Adolf Hitler and the doctrines of National Socialism, seeing in them his country's only hope of survival. In Rick we see the England of the intellectuals and Socialists who are continually watching world trends and trying to awaken public to a knowledge of the dangers which lie ahead. Lanny's life has not the direction which has been given to that of the others. He seems, by comparison, a poor little rich boy. Comparing himself with them he comes to the conclusion that "for some reason his mind hadn't got properly harnessed up for creative labor," why this was he didn't know. A friend who knew him well told him, "You are too comfortable, my boy!"

After two quite serious affairs, Lanny elopes with an American girl whose millions make the Budd fortunes look very small. They return to America in plenty of time to see the crash coming, and to watch its effect on Robbie Budd and his fellow speculators. Hitherto Lanny had been content to refrain from open disagreement with his father, who had no sympathy with what he called Red ideas. But at last we see Lanny telling his father what to do, and Robbie confessing, "You've got me licked, Son, I have to take it."

As Lanny and his wife leave America for Europe, they watch the Statue of Liberty receding. To Lanny she seems to be waving and amid the merrymaking on board ship seems to be singing, "I've been drunk for a long, long time, tomorrow I'll be sober."

Whether this book will live remains to be seen. That it is an important one at the present time is by no means so open to question; not only because it is extremely well written, but because, with *World's End*, it is the most comprehensive study of the period. It may be criticized because of the author's own bias and convictions, which clearly show through, but these, in the main, are based on irrefutable facts.

On the whole the characters are well developed, although at times one gets tired of Lanny, the playboy, and wishes that he would somehow emerge a man. He and millions of others had been

"Wandering between two worlds—one dead,  
The other powerless to be born."

That his story is meant to be continued is obvious. One wonders how it will end. M. I. T.

**WHAT MAKES SAMMY RUN?**: Budd Schulberg; Macmillan (Random House); pp. 303; \$3.00.

**WHAT MAKES SAMMY RUN?** is a first novel and if you look very carefully you can find some of the stigmata of a first novel. But it would be very picayune to put emphasis on the occasional labored writing, uneven characterization and repetitiveness when the whole book adds up to one of the most readable and thoughtfully planned stories in a long time.

It is about Hollywood, of course, as most book-review readers must know by this time. But it is Hollywood from the inside, not John O'Hara's visitor's view, nor Nathaniel West's lunatic fringe. It doesn't tell you a great deal that you couldn't guess about the movie industry but it confirms quite satisfactorily your worst suspicions. This, in any event, is the least important part of the book. Sammy Glick, heel American style, can be found in any big business aimed at a large public. Jerome Wiedman found him in the suit and cloak industry. It is Sammy being pared to his marrowless bones that makes this a good book. Budd Schulberg spurns delicacy of analysis by using a first person narrator who can heap epithets and gibes on Sammy which would be most unseemly in a more objective approach. This device is a little awkward sometimes, especially when events have to be recorded which the narrator could not witness, but on the whole it makes less tortuous reading since it forces some economy on the writer.

American reviewers hint that this is a roman a clef and there are times, unless Schulberg is absolutely inspired, when Sammy is so real that he must be drawn from life, so real that you suddenly remember meeting him somewhere. For example, when Sammy is getting near the top of the ladder whose rungs are made of other people's necks, the narrator asks him "How does it feel to have everything?" Sammy answers, "It makes me feel kinda . . . patriotic." He might have been a newspaper publisher.

If any criticism is to be made of *What Makes Sammy Run?* it is criticism which applies to almost all work of the younger writers. In essence it is that very few of them seem interested in writing as writing. In shedding the polysyllabic mannerisms, the parenthetical syntax of their predecessors, they seem to have lost the ability to create pleasure in the sounds and groupings of the words they use. Their language is almost entirely functional. This is a good thing in that the function of any medium of expression is the most important element; but it is bad in that it seldom leaves in the memory of the reader a fresh and expressive passage which embraces some part or all of what the writer was trying to say.

ELEANOR GODFREY

**TO SING WITH THE ANGELS**: Maurice Hindus; Doubleday Doran (McClelland); pp. 384; \$3.25.

**M**AURICE HINDUS has again shown himself to be a political writer of no mean proportions and it is quite irrelevant to pass judgment as to whether or not *To Sing with the Angels* is a great novel. Novel or no novel, this is an impassioned plea for world armed intervention against Nazi Germany. Hindus is pleading the cause of Czechoslovakia with all his deep understanding and admiration of its people. One has the feeling that Hindus has a very considerable knowledge of Czech customs and a fine intuitive understanding of Czech temperament.

The story centres around the small village of Liptovitse,

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which had been a thriving little community previous to Czech capitulation to Hitler. Its nazification is carried out by Jozhka, native son of the town's one German family. The resulting tragedies, the ruthless violence and senseless havoc which now become a part of the daily life of the citizens of Liptowitse as the Nazis slowly and relentlessly force them momentarily to their knees is told in moving detail.

The continually reiterated slogan, "The end above everything, the immediate end, the hallowed immutable end" which served to see Jozhka through many a trying period of conflicting emotions, exemplifies very clearly, whether intentionally or not on the part of the author, the one basic bit of common ground between the Nazis and the Communists; a revelation which should bring a healthy blush to the cheek of every well-meaning, honest fellow-traveller who reads this book.

Bearing in mind that this is a propaganda novel, written for the purpose of presenting a particular point of view, and that the author does not hesitate to resort to a considerable amount of sensationalism to strengthen his case, it's still a remarkably fine story, calculated to stir up your loves, your hates and your prejudices and to hold your interest from the first to the last page.

KAY MONTAGUE

JUST MARY: Mary Grannan; illustrated Georgette Berckmans; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; pp. 112; 60c.

THE CONSUMER is the ultimate judge of goods, whether they be groceries or literature. And so this volume of short stories which have been broadcast to young children was read aloud to a five-year-old. Translated into our idiom, the verdict was that the stories are imaginative, interesting, nay absorbing; alliteration is skilfully used, and in general they rate high. But, and it is a big but, there is sometimes too much anxiety felt by the listener as to whether the story will end happily, and one of them at least is much too harrowing. In this kind of a world five-year-olds should not, when it can be avoided, be reduced to tears by the story of a cat who, having lost one eye, is too ugly for anyone to want.

I think these stories are much more successful when read at home out of a book than when heard over the air, though surely this need not be so. If only the CBC would realize that children are extraordinarily intelligent and should be spoken to with due respect to their status as human beings rather than in the blurry and honeyed voice dripping with sentimentality at present reserved for "the kiddies."

GWENYTH GRUBE

## New Pamphlets

WE ARE GLAD to welcome a new pamphlet by the League for Social Reconstruction. RICH MAN, POOR MAN (pp. 24, 15c) is a new departure, and applies to Canadian conditions the pictorial statistics—using the same symbols—which have for some time been used with such success in the United States. The pamphlet contains 2 pictorial tables, each of which tells a vivid story at a glance, and which together give a brutally clear idea of the economic system under which we live. How much of our productive capacity is normally in use? How is our national income distributed? What proportion of our taxes is paid by the poor? How far did dividends dip

during the depression compared with wages? How do our families live, eat and go to school? How do wages compare in different industries, and in different provinces? To all these and similar questions this pamphlet gives the answer in a form that should be very useful not only to all those who talk and write on public affairs and to study groups, but to every man who likes to have the facts available when he argues with his neighbor. We look forward to more pamphlets of the same kind.

HOW HEALTHY IS CANADA?, by R. S. Lambert, continues the democracy and citizenship series of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the C.I.I.A. (pp. 21, 10c). It is an analysis of the recent study of health services published by the national committee for mental hygiene. It too contains many distressing facts. The figures for infant mortality, particularly in Quebec, are a disgrace and infant diseases are little better. There has been considerable improvement of recent years in looking after the health of school children, but even this is patchy and sporadic. The author emphasizes the shortage of doctors, and the need for a system of public medical care and health insurance. The irony of the situation is that prevention is not only better than cure, but that it is much cheaper in the end—even in dollars and cents. A useful contribution.

A PLAN FOR BRITAIN (pp. 56, 25c, National Economic and Social Planning Assoc., Washington, D.C.) is a reprint of the series of articles on the need for a new Britain that recently appeared in a special number of the British Weekly Picture Post. It is a magnificent proof that in Britain at least, many are those who are determined to build a better world, and to begin now. This is, as the editors say: "An essential part of our war aims. It is, indeed, our most positive war aim." Social security is to be the keynote, planning for homes, land, health, educations and leisure for all, and no longer for the privileged few only. Would that the majority of Canadians were equally awake to the need for a new Canada, as an "essential war aim."

G. M. A. G.

## Miscellany

BRITISH WORKING CLASS POLITICS 1832-1914: G. D. H. Cole; Labor Book Service; pp. 315; 75c (Routledge edition 7/6).

THIS IS A GOOD BOOK to have but a hard book to read. It is the story of working class political action from 1832 to 1914, with a very brief epilogue upon the present needs of the Labor party. It is hard to read because it is crammed with facts: the various reform acts, the conferences and associations which led ultimately to the formation of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor party; the attempts throughout the century to elect radicals of various kinds to Westminster. The results of every election are given in detail; the whole skeleton of labor organizations is given in full, with an appendix, a full list of all the successful radical parliamentary candidates, their constituency, their vote, etc. There is also a very full index to make reference easy, and a select biography.

Altogether, it is a very useful book of reference which every socialist should possess, and which all those concerned with party organization should take time to study. For Canada is still in the 19th century as far as trade union and labor organization is concerned, and we still have a tremendous lot to learn from events in Britain, particularly in the fifty years before the last war. We

shall have to travel more quickly, no doubt, if we are to catch up with the modern world at all, but we must cover much the same journey, facing the same stops and failures on the way. Britain too then had its great trade unions averse to any independent or third party political action, and we may hope to profit from the hard lessons they had to learn.

Occasionally, the author breaks away from the severe restrictions he has placed upon himself, and then we get a very attractive bit of writing, as for example the few pages on Robert Blatchford and his Clarion (CCF journalists, please note pp. 130-5!), and the short character sketches of the possible leaders of the Labor party when, for their sins, they chose Macdonald in 1911.

Most of the book is, however, rather arid, but the facts it contains we should all have at our elbow, and we can probably not get them anywhere else in so convenient a form.

G. M. A. GRUBE

**WANDERING IN FRANCE:** Edward M. Hulme; Caxton; pp. 318; \$3.50.

TRAVEL GENERALLY BROADENS and deepens a man's mind. It broadens his store of observations and memories, and deepens his antecedent prejudices. Professor Hulme is no exception. At some time between the two wars he drove a car through the more picturesque parts of France in a wide and wobbly circle, looking at landscape, architecture, and pictures. He does not give the exact date, and it is impossible from internal evidence to date the tour more accurately. In short, France for him was little more than a vast museum in which he took a kindly interest, populated by quaint people who were

exactly what he had always expected them to be. His Frenchmen are not really living contemporaries; they are the Frenchmen of Standard Selections from French authors, Standard Histories of French Literature and French Thought. In fact, the book itself is almost a standard example of "France as seen through the benevolent tortoise-shells of an American rationalist, with nostalgic yearnings towards a sentimentalized simple peasant paganism." For a full generation, though she made less fuss about it than some, France has been perhaps the most mentally and morally distracted nation in Europe; yet this picture has all the tranquil remoteness of bygone centuries; the author pads placidly among the gentle ghosts through the soft dust of the tomb. The style suggests a series of lectures on which the students may expect to be examined.

L. A. M.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**Between Two Worlds:** Upton Sinclair; The Macmillan Company; pp. 859; \$3.25.

**The Last Million Years:** A. P. Coleman; University of Toronto Press; pp. 216; \$3.50.

**Quest:** Leopold Enfeld; Doubleday, Doran (McClelland); pp. 342; \$3.75.

**British Working Class Politics:** G. D. H. Cole; Labor Book Service; pp. 318; Routledge edition 7/6, L.B.S. edition 2/6.

**The Creed of Christ:** Gerald Heard; Harper Brothers (Musson); pp. 169; \$2.50.

**What Makes Sammy Run?**: Budd Schulberg; Random House (Macmillan); pp. 302; \$3.00.

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**Democracy Comes to a Cotton Kingdom:** Clarence Senior; Centro de Estudios Pedagogicos e Hispano-americanos; pp. 56; 15c.  
**The Labor Situation in Great Britain:** International Labor Office; pp. 56; 25c.

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**America's Factories:** Maxwell S. Stewart; Public Affairs Pamphlets; pp. 29; 10c.

**Jewish Youth Faces the War:** Leon Lashner; Habonim, Labor Zionist Youth; pp. 19; 3c.

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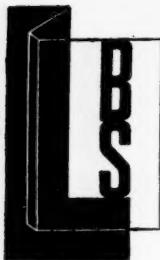
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